







## recently published titles from FABER AND FABER

### The Joke

MILAN KUNDERA  
Translated by MICHAEL HEIM

"It is impossible to do justice here to the subtleties, comedy and wisdom of this very beautiful novel... the author of *The Joke* is clearly one of the best to be found anywhere. He is an artist." *Saturday Review*, *The Observer* \$8.95

### Separate Tracks

JANE ROGERS

"This is a sad and dramatic story deeply felt although never stridently written. It is a remarkable first novel." *The Financial Times* \$7.95

### How German Is It

WALTER ABISH

"Brilliant detective novel on one level, relentlessly honest exposure of the German character on another. A dazzling literary achievement and a savage indictment of a prevaricating and hypocritical society." *The Sunday Standard* Faber Paperback \$2.25

### Strangers in Paradise

The Hollywood Emigrants 1933-1950

JOHN RUSSELL TAYLOR

An impressive and sustained account of the European exiles who came to California as refugees from Nazi Europe. This is the story - frequently bizarre, often funny and sometimes tragic - of film makers such as Buñuel, Lang and Renoir, of cultural figures as diverse as Schoenberg, Brecht, Isherwood and Rachmaninov, and of how they came to terms with the place, its inhabitants and one another. \$8.95

### Beethoven and the Voice of God

WILFRED MELLERS

"This highly important new study of the mind and the music of Beethoven as revealed principally in the late piano sonatas and in the Missa Solemnis, is the second and self-sufficient part of an investigation of Bach and Beethoven as religious composers. 'Professor Mellers' purely musical analyses of some of the Beethoven sonatas are perfection, and I recommend his book for those alone.' *Anthony Burgess, The Observer* \$20.00

### Pound/Ford

The Story of a Literary Friendship

Edited by BRITA LINDBERG SEYERSTED

This is the first volume of a projected series devoted to Pound's remarkable correspondence with his friends and contemporaries. Drawing on a mass of previously unpublished material the book documents with letters, essays, reviews and reminiscences, one of the most significant literary relationships in the development of modernism. \$20.00

### John Donne

Life, Mind and Art

JOHN CAREY

"Donne is perhaps the most intellectual of English poets, and John Carey is perhaps the most intelligent of contemporary English literary critics. The encounter, as one might expect, is force and enthralling... This book is sensitive, searching, powerful, exciting, provocative and witty. It is a superb achievement." *Christopher Hill, The Times Literary Supplement* Faber Paperback \$3.95

### Gotohal

The Media, the Government and the Falklands Crisis

ROBERT HARRIS

"Robert Harris's devastating and highly readable account of the media war should become a classic of the genre, fit to stand alongside Michael Herr's book of the media in Vietnam, *Despatches*." *The Guardian* Faber Paperback \$2.95



faber and faber

## THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Priority House, St John's Lane, London EC1M 4BX

APRIL 1 1983

|                              |                      |
|------------------------------|----------------------|
| Bibliography 340             | Italy 336            |
| Biography and Memoirs 315-16 | Oriental Art 335     |
| Classical Studies 338        | Performing Arts 319  |
| Commentary 326-7             | Poetry 317, 321-2    |
| Fiction 324-5                | Politics 333-4       |
| German Literature 339        | Religion 318, 329-32 |
| History 323, 337             | Social History 320   |

## INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| AMANN, RONALD, and COOPER, JULIAN (Editors) <i>Industrial Innovation in the Soviet Union</i> [Archie Brown]   | 333      |
| BENNETT, J. A. W. <i>Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of Verse. The Humane Medievalist and Other Essays in English Literature and Learning, from Chaucer to Eliot</i> [Stephen Medcalf] | 317      |
| BINCH, MAEVE <i>Dublin 4</i> [Patricia Craig]   | 324      |
| BRESLAUER, GEORGE W. <i>Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders: Building Authority in Soviet Politics</i> [Archie Brown]  | 333      |
| BRESLER, FENTON <i>The Mystery of Georges Simonov: A Biography</i> [David Pryce-Jones]  | 336      |
| BROWN, GEORGE MACKAY <i>Andrina and Other Stories</i> [Douglas Dunn]  | 334      |
| BYNUM, CAROLINE WALKER <i>Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages</i> [Benedicta Ward]   | 318      |
| CAREY, GARY <i>Judy Holliday: An Intimate Life Story</i> [John Stokes]  | 319      |
| CHADWICK, OWEN <i>Newman</i> [Ian Ker]  | 331      |
| COTTELL, ALAN P. <i>Goethe's View of Evil and the Search for a New Image of Man in our Time</i> [Martin Swales]   | 339      |
| DAHME, CHARLES <i>Power and Authority in the Catholic Church: Cardinal Codel in Chicago</i> [Peter Hebblethwaite]   | 330      |
| DAVIES, RUPERT, and others (Editors) <i>A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain: Volume Three</i> [David Martin]   | 329      |
| DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE <i>Fragments de Mémoires 1940-1941</i> [Douglas Johnson]  | 316      |
| DUMAN, DANIEL <i>The Judicial Bench in England 1727-1875: The Reshaping of a Professional Elite. The English and Colonial Bars in the Nineteenth Century</i> [Zelman Cowen]                               | 320      |
| FARRELL, R. T. (Editor) <i>The Vikings</i> [Rory McTurk]  | 337      |
| GALLAGHER, ERIC, and WORRALL, STANLEY <i>Christians in Ulster 1968-1980</i> [Douglas Hetherington]  | 332      |
| GOODENOUGH, SIMON <i>The Country Prison</i> [Gerard Irvine]   | 318      |
| GRANT, MICHAEL <i>From Alexander to Cleopatra: The Hellenistic World</i> [A. A. Long]   | 338      |
| GRIBSON, PHILIP <i>Byzantine Coins</i> [J. P. C. Kent]  | 338      |
| GURTSCH, THANE <i>Reform in Soviet Politics: Lessons of recent policies on land and water</i> [A. D. 337-364] [Archie Brown]  | 333      |
| KENT, J. P. C. <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage: Volume VIII, The Family of Constantine I</i> [Michael Crawford]   | 338      |
| KERR, DONAL A. <i>Peel, Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1841-1846</i> [Roy Foster]   | 323      |
| LAW, VIVIAN <i>The Insular Latin Grammarians</i> [T. M. Charles-Edwards]  | 337      |
| LEWIS, J. R. <i>The Victorian Bar</i> [Zelman Cowen]  | 330      |
| LÖWENHARDT, JOHN <i>The Soviet Politburo. Decision Making in Soviet Politics</i> [Archie Brown]   | 333      |
| MACCABY, HYAM <i>The Sacred Executioner: Human Sacrifice and the Legacy of Guilt</i> [J. Duncan M. Derrett]   | 330      |
| MACKAY, JAMES P. <i>The Christian Experience of God as Trinity</i> [Maurice Wiles]  | 332      |
| MCCANN, PHILIP, and YOUNG, FRANCIS A. <i>Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement</i> [Gillian Sutherland]  | 330      |
| MACQUARRIE, JOHN <i>In Search of Humanity: A Theological and Philosophical Approach</i> [Stewart R. Sutherland]   | 332      |
| MANSFIELD, KATHERINE <i>The Aloe</i> [Fleur Adcock]   | 325      |
| MAYER, HANS <i>Ein Deutscher auf Widerruf: Erinnerungen</i> [Philip Brady]  | 339      |
| MEDVEDEV, ROY <i>Khrushchev</i> [Archie Brown]  | 333      |
| MOTION, ANDREW <i>Philip Larkin</i> [Richard Brown]   | 332      |
| MURRAY, IAIN H. <i>D. Margyn Lloyd-Jones: The First Forty Years 1899-1939</i> [John Whale]  | 331      |
| MYERS, ROBIN, and HARRIS, MICHAEL (Editors) <i>Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700</i> [Pat Rogers]  | 340      |
| OLIVER, ANTHONY <i>The Property of a Lady</i> [Margold Johnson]   | 315      |
| PAIS, ABRAHAM <i>Subtle is the Lord... The Science and the Life of Albert Einstein</i> [Brian Pippard]  | 319      |
| PORTER, PETER <i>Collected Poems</i> [Blake Morrison]   | 319      |
| PRIESTLEY, BRIAN <i>Mingus: A critical biography</i> [Charles Fox]  | 319      |
| ROBERTS, JULIAN <i>Walter Benjamin</i> [S. S. Prawer]   | 319      |
| ROBERTSON, ANNE S. <i>Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow: Volume 5, Diocletian (Reform) to Zeno</i> [Michael Crawford]  | 316      |
| SAINT-EXUPÉRY, ANTOINE DE <i>Ecrits de Guerre 1939-1944</i> [Douglas Johnson]   | 336      |
| SAVINO, ALBERTO <i>Palachetti romani</i> [Filippo Donini]   | 336      |
| SAWYER, P. H. <i>Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100</i> [Hilda Davidson]   | 337      |
| SICILIANO, ENZO <i>La Voce di Otello</i> [Giuseppe Sertoli]   | 336      |
| STENT, ANOELA <i>From Embargo to Ostpolitik: The Political Economy of West German-Soviet Relations, 1955-1980</i> [Roger P. Morgan]   | 334      |
| SUGG, JOYCE (Editor) <i>A Packet of Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence of John Henry Newman</i> [Ian Ker]   | 331      |
| WACZIARG, FRANCIS, and NATH, AMAN <i>Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhavati</i> [Simon Digby]   | 335      |
| WENG, WAN-GO, and BODA, YANG (Editors) <i>The Palace Museum, Peking: Treasures of the Forbidden City</i> [Margaret Medley]  | 335      |
| WHELDON, DAVID <i>The Vladiuci</i> [Linda Taylor]   | 323      |
| WOLITZER, MEG <i>Sleepwalking</i> [Victoria Rothchild]  | 323      |
| YOURCENAR, MARQUERITE <i>A Coin in Nine Hands</i> [Michael Tilby]   | 323      |
| ZAMOTSKI, ADAM <i>The Battle for the Marehlands</i> [J. Ciechanowski]   | 324      |
| COMMENTS  |          |
| Television <i>To The Lighthouse</i> (BBC 2) [Peter Kemp]  | 327      |
| Theatre <i>BERTOLT BRECHT: Mr Puntila and His Servant Matti</i> (Tricycle Theatre)  | 326      |
| <i>MICHAEL RUDMAN: Short Lisi</i> (Hampstead Theatre) [Ronald Hayman]   | 326      |
| <i>STEPHEN SPENDER, after SOPHOCLES: The Oedipus Plays</i> (Arts Theatre, Cambridge)  | 327      |
| Poems by Dick Davis, Penelope Shuttle   | 317, 323 |
| Letters on 'After Long Silence', 'A Matter of Trust', Freud and Philosophy etc.   | 326      |
| Among this week's contributors  | 327      |
| Author, Author  | 327      |
| Fifty years on...   | 326      |

# To the heart of matter

Brian Pippard

ABRAHAM PAIS  
*Subtle is the Lord... The Science and the Life of Albert Einstein*  
(Oxford: Clarendon Press. £15. 0/19833907 X)

Abraham Pais has written the definitive life of Einstein, based on a thorough study of all available published and unpublished papers, letters, and other records. A distinguished theoretical physicist himself, Pais fully understands Einstein's published works, representing their author's considered view of their logical structure. Moreover, he traces in detail the growth of the ideas - the false trails and the errors of reasoning, the response to criticism and discussion - so that we can experience, in however attenuated form, the perplexities and excitement of an outstanding creative thinker. This is not to imply, of course, that others need not extend the study in matters of detail, but from now on the starting-point for every student of Einstein will be Pais's book.

Einstein was a household name in his own time, first as an example of all that is brilliant and incomprehensible, and later as the gentle humanist who left his study on occasion to offer advice to the powerful and wisdom to a troubled world. How far was this reputation justified? Part of the answer is to be found in Pais's sub-title, "The Science and the Life of Albert Einstein". Einstein was a scientist first and last, a theoretical physicist who occupies a special place in the thoughts of all scientists. He, far more than any other single person, is responsible for the way we think nowadays about material things; in the pantheon of physicists he stands beside Newton and Maxwell; the admiration of the world, however superficial in origin, is no more than his due.

Pais writes that "Einstein was the best man I have ever known"; he emerged into politics when he wished, and retired to his thoughts again as soon as he could. He did not initiate movements, but was willing to lend his authority to the ambitions of others with which he sympathized - the search for peace, an honourable future for the Jewish nation (he was a Zionist, but passionately a Jew). But at the heart of it all was the search for the truth about the physical universe, the perfect fundamental structure out of which the whole of experience grows; the laws of the atom and the stars in their courses. To this he always returned, to his very last days; this was his mission in life, to which all else must be subordinate. It was a religious as well as an intellectual search for the pattern established by the Maker, when he set all things in motion to work out their destiny alone. For, like many lesser physicists, Einstein was a Deist, needing a God but not needing his personal involvement in the affairs of the Universe. And like others, including some eminent physicists, who have tried to encompass a truth in its entirety, he ended by inventing universes which do not happen to be ours. But this was after he was forty-five, and followed fifteen to twenty years of almost unparalleled creativity which left physics totally changed.

It is not to be expected that such a man should be equally successful in all his affairs, but on reading accounts of Einstein's life and his relations with others one is struck by his goodness. To be sure, his married life was on the whole unsuccessful; his first wife divorced him and his second marriage was full of chafes, but he was not indifferent and blamed their failures on his own shortcomings, for the small change of everyday contacts was not compatible with the intensity of his thinking. He was a solitary man who nevertheless enjoyed congenial company and did not resent being sought out by those wishing intellectual conversation. He talked about himself with humour, and about others without malice. Rarely did courtesy forsake him in discussion, however fierce the controversy, and his assessment of himself seems to have been just, without arrogance or false modesty. I have only once heard criticism of him from any of his former colleagues and I was interested to learn from this book that their relationship had been unusually tense. From most who knew him slightly he elicited reverence rather than fear. It is pleasing to read here of his last years; the daily extemporization on the piano (he could no longer play his violin), the strolls around Princeton, the talks with colleagues, and always the return to his private constructions and the arduous analysis they called forth; and finally, facing death calmly, a fulfilled life ending in peace.

Why did Einstein ever start on this long journey? At about eighteen we find him, in a school essay on his plans for the future, proposing to go to college and become a teacher of mathematics and physics. "Here are the reasons..." Above all, it is my disposition for abstract and mathematical thought, my lack of imagination (phantasy) and practical ability. "Lack of imagination? Why, yes! Einstein's mind was not divergent (or promiscuous) in Liam Hudson's gloss); he would have laughed dismissively if asked to think of twenty ways of using a brick. But, like Newton and, I guess, most other great innovators, his strength lay in the power of undeviating concentration on an idea, and in the intuition for knowing which idea was worth the effort. His great imaginings were not the sparks thrown off by the clever mind, but rare feats quite beyond the range of cleverness. It is said that in his days of fame Einstein was closely questioned by a reporter about his working habits. He admitted to taking a walk in the afternoon; then, "and I suppose you take a notebook to jot down your important thoughts?" "Oh no." "Why not?" "Well, you see, I have so few important thoughts."

Most scientists never achieve a thought in this category, some few have one during their life, fewer still have two, but Einstein had three - the quantum nature of light, the Special Theory of Relativity, and the use of non-Euclidean geometry to bring gravitation into the compass of Relativity (the General Theory of Relativity). These major advances are different in kind. Both the Special and the General Theories of Relativity are extensions of the classical Newtonian view of the interplay of mass and energy, enriched by Maxwell's elucidation of electric and magnetic fields and the unification of light waves. But this extension revealed a logical inconsistency at the heart of the theory, exemplified by the result of the Michelson-Morley experiment. No matter how fast you are travelling, a light signal passes you at exactly the same speed. In the last decades of the nineteenth century ingenious attempts were made to patch up the theory; they failed. It could be done, but the procedure was artificial (Fitzgerald-Lorentz contraction, etc.) and unattractive to anyone who, like Einstein, believed the basic structure to be simple.

This was one of the problems that occupied his mind in the quiet of the Bern patent office, in the intervals of his exemplary performance as technical expert third-class. In 1905 he proposed to cut the Gordian knot by assuming that the laws of nature (including the speed of light) present exactly the same form to all observers moving at a constant relative velocity. In this way he was able to develop a theory of dynamics which extended, without violating, earlier theories. It was the context of the Special Relativity theory we see how Newtonian ideas represent observations made on bodies moving rather slowly in comparison to light. Nothing of what is now known as relativity - what is now known as relativity - was out of this theory that used. It was out of this theory that Einstein drew the corollary that energy and mass are aspects of the same thing ( $E = mc^2$ ). At that time, before the discovery of the nucleus, there was no significant experimental test, but nuclear physics has placed the result beyond doubt.

The dogmatic certainty of physicists concerning Special Relativity is a source of sorrow to the less sophisticated, who are unable to have only once heard criticism of him from any of his former colleagues and I was interested to learn from this book that their relationship had been unusually tense. From most who knew him slightly he elicited reverence rather than fear. It is pleasing to read here of his last years; the daily extemporization on the piano (he could no longer play his violin), the strolls around Princeton, the talks with colleagues, and always the return to his private constructions and the arduous analysis they called forth; and finally, facing death calmly, a fulfilled life ending in peace.

Even if there were no nuclear experiments to verify that it is possible to embark on a long space voyage and return less aged than the stay-at-home, the relativist would still have to reject his critics, whose principal error is to suppose that common sense still rules in the world of relativity. By common sense I do not mean that the earlier Newtonian model of the universe was one that every intelligent man would think out for himself. Not in the least; Newton's achievement involved the systematic rejection of nearly all the philosophic views of earlier cosmologists, not all of whom were devoid of common sense, but what he arrived at was an intellectual system which generations of students have learnt to use (though not easily) without being asked to abandon everyday notions. By contrast, Relativity builds on this structure by asking the student who has mastered Newtonian rudiments then to accept something which his common sense rebels against, viz, that the speed of light is constant, and that to apply mathematical logic rather than

the story. But it is worth stressing that even when Einstein realized that the universe was not Euclidean, and that gravity was a manifestation of space curvature, he was not rejecting earlier ideas but placing them in a wider context. Newtonian physics is physics in a curved space when the curvature is too small to show, or perhaps when the manifestations of curved space (gravity) acting in a Euclidean space. Einstein's problem was to find a consistent description when the simplifying proviso is no longer valid. The imaginative effort needed to take this step was enormous, and few could discuss with him the rights and wrongs of his every attack on the citadel. This was his last and, in Pais's view, his greatest success. When he found that his equations predicted that the orbit of Mercury should slowly turn relative to the fixed stars, and that the predicted age (43 seconds of arc per century) agreed perfectly with the figure that the astronomers had already measured, "for a few days, I was beside myself with joyous excitement". This was in 1915, and was no occasion for a

quantum, or photon, was a reality (in the sense in which physicists use the word). Now Pais fleshes out Einstein's part in the story, and well worthwhile it is. The beginning lies in the middle of the last century, when Kirchhoff showed that the radiation (visible and infra-red) to be found in a hot cavity has the same quality no matter what the walls are made of - its character depends on the temperature alone. It seemed clear to Kirchhoff that a very fundamental question was to determine how the energy is distributed among a wide range of wave-lengths, and to find a theory that explains the distribution. And he was not wrong; from the attempt sprang the whole of quantum physics.

There is no space here to tell the story as it deserves, and I can only comment briefly on a few points. Planck found the formula which described the experimental results and almost immediately suggested that material oscillators could take up energy from the radiation, and give it out, in quanta, rather than continuously, as classical physics says. His argument betrays a woeful misunderstanding of statistical physics, then a new and controversial area, but his conclusion was sound, as we now know. Planck was not happy with his revolutionary stroke, for the edifice he was attacking - the classical physics of Newton and Maxwell - was as near perfect as anyone could wish, and his proposal was no mere extension, as Relativity was to be, but a blow at the foundations. It is not surprising that he made little progress, and that Einstein in 1905 took up the problem virtually untouched. What he did then is mind-boggling for, to judge from his publications, he was led by a thermodynamical argument to propose that the discreteness of quantization resided not merely in the process of radiation interacting with matter, but was a property of the radiation itself. What is so astonishing about this at first sight is the truly appalling blunders of his thermodynamics, which by a series of self-cancelling mistakes reach a correct conclusion that way; he must have seen the need for quantizing radiation, and hashed up his argument to give the semblance of a justification. It is, however, a remarkable performance for such an aristocrat of the intellect, suggesting that he was thrown off his stride by the audacity of his guess.

Later on, as Einstein came back again and again to the problem, he is in complete command and we can only hold our breaths at the sheer beauty of his treatments. But all the time he agonizes over the dilemma that Maxwell's theory of electromagnetic fields, the crowning glory of classical physics, has no place for the quantum, and the quantum is simply not the sort of entity that can be controlled by equations like Maxwell's. Planck, Einstein and later Schrödinger, each in his turn makes his contribution to quantum physics and stands back, against at his treachery. And amid all this stands the figure of Bohr, deeply puzzled, certain (as was Einstein) that the mathematical description of quantum phenomena was right, and attempting with the others to find a new philosophy into which both viewpoints will fit. Einstein was never convinced by Bohr's final compromise (the Copenhagen doctrine). Most modern physicists defer to ignore the deep problems in the confidence that their prescriptions give the right answer, and the feeling that this is the point beyond which the human mind, formed from everyday experience, cannot penetrate with the sense of understanding that classical physics provides. To the leading figures in the controversy the final split between Einstein and the modernists, led by Bohr, was deeply distressing. In retrospect, it cannot be said to have held up the advance of quantum mechanics, and it has pinpointed very clearly the deep philosophical issues.

In the past few years we have been enriched by two splendid studies of the momentous crises in physics, R. S. Westfall on Newton (*Never at Rest*, 1980) and Stuewer on quantum theory; these must now be added Pais on Einstein, worthy to stand in any company.



Einstein and his second wife photographed leaving New York for a holiday in Bermuda.

common-sense intuition to the solution of problems, until he has redeveloped his physical intuition to include relativity.

This is the step the objects cannot take, but for those who can the rewards are immense. Henceforth every theory must be compatible with relativity, and on important occasions this has enabled rival views to be critically assessed. The most dramatic case was Dirac's demonstration in 1929, following the discovery of quantum mechanics, that the result of the governing the behaviour of the electron could have only one form, and that form quite other than anything conceived before. Once the predictions of Dirac's equation had been gloriously verified it is hardly surprising that the physicist adopts relativity theory as one of his certainties, knowing that only chaos, not enlightenment, awaits any attempt to discard it. When Einstein heard in 1921 that Dayton C. Miller had obtained an experimental result that violated his theory, he was not upset; he was disappointed. He is "Subtle is the Lord," malicious he is not. "I have tried to explain briefly why it was right to dismiss the experiment as being in error; but the anti-relativists cannot understand, and see only the Establishment closing its ranks."

It was, not long after Special Relativity that Einstein, who had had other fish to fry meanwhile, began searching for a way to include accelerated motions, especially acceleration under the universal force of gravity, into the theory. It is here that the going gets really rough, and I do not feel competent to comment on the way Pais has expounded

المجلة



# Divisions among the disoriented

Douglas Johnson

**ANTOINETTE DE SAINT-EXUPÉRY**  
*Œuvres de Guerre 1939-1944: Avec "Le Petit Prince" et des témoignages et documents*  
 649pp. Paris: Gallimard, 160 fr.  
 2070258939

**PIERRE DRIEU LA ROCHELLE**  
*Fragments de Mémoires 1940-1941*  
 127pp. Paris: Gallimard, 57 fr.  
 2070253708

The literary destiny of Saint-Exupéry has been strange. The *Pléiade* edition of his works has had the largest sales of any volume in that collection, and with *Le Petit Prince* having sold nearly 4 million copies and been translated into some fifty different languages, followed quite closely by *Vol de Nuit* with more than 3 million, one can argue that Saint-Exupéry is probably the most successful of twentieth-century French authors. But he is not always appreciated by the literary pundits in France. Jean-François Revel has deplored his "anémie verbale" and regretted that "le crénelé du coq" should have been widely accepted by the young. Surveys suggest that it is in the *lycées* (especially the *lycées d'enseignement technique*) that Saint-Exupéry now maintains his popularity, and it seems likely that much of French youth has grown out of him by the age of eighteen, but that the nostalgia for what they have read earlier persists.

Undoubtedly, if one poses as a moralist then one's own conduct must always be above suspicion, but Saint-Exupéry's behaviour during the war has been the subject of innuendo. Just before the armistice, on the day when General de Gaulle left France for London, Saint-Exupéry's air-force unit was transferred from Toulouse to Algiers. He stayed in Algiers until he was demobilized and then went to live in the south of France, working on his book, *Citadelle*. In December 1940 he went to New York; then, in May 1943, after the Allied invasion of North Africa, he returned to his unit, which was still in Algeria. At no time apparently was he tempted to join de Gaulle in London, or to associate himself with the Gaullist cause in America. For a man whose sense of patriotism was acute and whose taste for adventure was considerable, this has been seen as a surprising, to put it no more strongly, lapse (and certain Gaullists in New York did put it more strongly).

It was doubtless for this reason that Raymond Aron, who never knew Saint-Exupéry personally, agreed to write the preface to this collection of Saint-Exupéry's war-time writings (to which have been added many comments by others on his activities during this period). Aron shared Saint-Exupéry's view of the Gaullist movement. Although he came to London and joined de Gaulle (he crossed the Channel, disguised as a Polish soldier, on the day of the armistice) and was ready to take part in the Gaullist expedition to Dakar, Aron was always ill at ease with the passionate and exclusive circle that surrounded the General. He believed that their outright condemnation of Vichy was both wrong, since there were many Frenchmen of good faith who had reasons to serve the Vichy régime in 1940, and unwelcome, since it was preparing the ground for a civil war in France.

Aron attaches some importance to Saint-Exupéry's controversy with Jacques Maritain, which arose from an article that Saint-Exupéry published in the *New York Times Magazine* a few weeks after the Allied invasion of French North Africa. In it he proclaimed that the episode of Vichy was over, that the time had come for reconciliation and the unity of all Frenchmen. It did not matter who was to be the leader of the French, "notre vrai chef, c'est la France," but Maritain refused to forget that there were those who had given up the struggle on June 17, 1940, who had denounced France's ally, England, and who had led the French nation into the trap of the armistice. Nor could he accept that the so-called "episode" of

Vichy was over or that the story of "ces tristes Français" could be easily forgotten. For Saint-Exupéry, "le problème Giraud - de Gaulle est ridicule": either could be called upon to represent the whole of France, though he does not say how this was to be achieved. Nor does he explain himself on the justice or wisdom of the American agreement with Admiral Darlan. But we are told that after Darlan's assassination, Saint-Exupéry experienced a premonition of the *épuration*, and when he commented that there were times when he felt obliged to avoid his compatriots, it was after having lunch with some of de Gaulle's supporters, notably André Philip and his son Olivier. We are told by Pierre Bonneville, who met him in Algiers in 1944, that Saint-Exupéry had an instinctive suspicion of everything Gaullist, and we know that one of the reasons why Glide drifted apart from him during this period, was because he was irritated by his vituperations against the General (although he was also embarrassed by his conviction that *Citadelle* was a failure).

However, it is plain from all the material published (or re-published) here, that Saint-Exupéry was totally apolitical. While Aron, in 1943, was writing articles in which he circumspectly expressed his apprehensions about an eventual dictatorship exercised by de Gaulle, Saint-Exupéry is vehement in his dislike of de Gaulle but strikingly imprecise. Brasillach once said of him

that he did not care what the cause was, provided that men were animated by it, and he was capable of the most brusque changes of opinion as he himself became subject to new impressions. Glide believed that just before his mission in July 1944, from which he never returned, Saint-Exupéry was changing his mind about de Gaulle, simply because he was impressed by de Gaulle's calm and lucidity.

Although Drieu la Rochelle was supposedly a more political animal than Saint-Exupéry, he shows in *Fragments de Mémoires 1940-1941* an equal vagueness in his approach to the problems that faced France after her defeat. Drieu was a partisan of the "révolution nationale" and believed that it was only by a loyal and effective collaboration between Germany and France that France's decline into socialism and incoherence could be avoided. He therefore sought to create, and to persuade the Germans to allow, "un parti unique" in France. Such a party, distant from the egoisms and the intrigues of the pre-1940 political organizations, would form a wedge between Vichy and the Germans, and allow the French to take the initiative and gain some sort of autonomy. Or so he believed. This journal, written between the end of 1942 and 1943, records his attempts to influence his German friend Otto Abetz in this direction, and his discussions with Doriot, Bergery and the group that was associated with the Banque Worms, notably its leader, Gabriel Le Roy Ladurie.

Drieu had known Saint-Exupéry. He had, along with Benjamin Crémieux, heard him read the opening pages of *Citadelle* as far back as 1936, and like most people on their first acquaintance with this book, he had been reserved as to its qualities. He had driven Saint-Exupéry to Paris in the autumn of 1940, but Saint-Exupéry had only stayed for two days, finding the atmosphere of collaboration extremely distasteful. From then on, their ways diverged, but not in any

simple contrast of *résistance* versus *collaboration*. As Saint-Exupéry put it, he had been in France, his duty might have been to assassinate Pucheu, but he was in the United States, and his Exupéry refused to "le parti unique" means the Gaullists, whom he feared would descend upon France in a fury of revenge and *épuration*.

But both men cosseted themselves with fanciful speculations. Saint-Exupéry, in December 1943, believed that "Gaullism" was preparing for war against the United States and, eventually, against England. Earlier, Drieu la Rochelle had considered the possibility of a pro-English and anti-French group in Nazi Germany coming to some agreement with England (a possibility, he recalls, which was revived when Hess flew to Scotland in 1941, three days before Hitler was due to meet Darlan at Berchtesgaden). In addition both men, while genuinely despairing for their suffering country, spent a lot of time feeling sorry for themselves. Saint-Exupéry compared his exile to a Chinese torture and was desperately anxious to be "killed"; Drieu la Rochelle, sitting down to dinner with German officials, reflected that as a former infantryman he was used to "de petits postes". We should, of course, respect those who did not fit easily into the expected patterns of behaviour during such great crises of history, but the examples of Saint-Exupéry and Drieu la Rochelle suggest that in their cases egoism might have a lot to answer for.

have seduced has been rising inexorably. By 1977 he was telling the world that he had had 10,000 women, soon to develop into tens of thousands. A similar process of self-dramatization has led him to display instances of his married life submitting each wife in turn to public inspection. Even the suicide of his daughter - a terrible private distress - has been incorporated along with everything else into the autobiographical saga.

Bresler takes these things seriously. In his portrait, therefore, Simonon can only appear as vain, boastful, destructive, even monstrous. At his sternest, Bresler accuses Simonon of wilful lying, and then believing the lie. But why take any of it at face value? As Bresler relates, a Swiss psychiatrist with four colleagues once spent a whole day grilling Simonon (a special form of sado-masochism in itself), to reach the conclusion that he was a "fantasist".

Not only Swiss psychiatrists can perceive that those twenty-two volumes have less to do with confession than with fabrication. It is in a would-be Homeric version of his life that Simonon does the wonderful things credited to him in this book: laying women in their thousands; proving to the Vichy authorities that his name was not the Jewish Simon in disguise; recovering royalties by waving a revolver in some publisher's face; renting a hunting preserve of "some ten thousand kilometers".

Somewhere under all this is the outline of quite a different Simonon, a shy man alarmed to have created in Maigret a figure which has attracted the world's imagination; upset to have missed "happy domesticity, deeply anxious about his sexual powers and in need of pity and consolation; a pipe-smoking old journalist who likes colleagues to listen to him; finally, someone who has mastered the peculiarly modern technique of inventing a pseudo safely and invisibly which he can quite get at the truth here, nor does it matter one way or another.

Penguin Books have recently published a collection of three of Georges Simonon's early Maigret novels under the title *Maigret in Exile* (318pp. £3.50; 0 14 005160 0). The novels are *Maigret in Exile* (1942), translated by Eileen Ellenbogen; *Maigret and the Toy Village* (1944), translated by Eileen Ellenbogen; and *Four Days in a Lifetime* (1949), translated by Louise Varèse.



Georges Simonon in the 1930s, from the book reviewed here.

score of novels in a year. He also skillfully judged his market. Married young, he quickly settled into the routine demanded of someone so prolific. Maigret was conceived at the beginning of the 1930s, when Simonon was only twenty-eight. Money and fame introduced a flash note of cocktail cabinets, smoking-jackets, yachts.

During the war and the German occupation, Simonon stayed deep in the French countryside, writing as usual. His novels continued to be published with some of them serialized in the collaborationist press. This allowed real collaborators to claim Simonon as one of them, though his writings have nothing the least political about them. At the Liberation, an odd lot of *maquisards* arrived at his house, thoroughly frightening him. Almost immediately he sailed to America, and acquired a farm in Connecticut, where he resumed writing exactly the same kind of books as before. Marrying again, he none the less remained entangled with his first wife. Returning in due course to Switzerland, he now has a third common-law wife, with the previous two still in uneasy orbit around him.

The mystery in all this, if there is one, is what was motivating him to write five hundred books, give or take a few, several of them published under other names. The mechanics of it, the laboriousness, the tedium, would threaten to transform the typewriter into an auto-destruct system. It was not that he had urgent messages to impart, but that the drive to self-expression was completely unstoppable. Something, for the act of writing made him vomit, induced wild pains, left him a prey to hypochondria.

A connection with sexuality also existed. At the end of the day, so he says, he liked to slip out to pick up a prostitute. This was a matter of physical release. Though plenty of seductions are mentioned by Bresler, they seem to have little or nothing to do with fondness for women, let alone expectation of love. Those couplings which Simonon recalls were generally the briefest and most random, in which he often could not see the woman's face.

From the moment in 1972 when Simonon ceased writing fiction, the number of women whom he claims to

## The imagery of suffering

Stephen Medcalf

**J. A. W. BENNETT**  
*Poetry of the Passion: Studies in the Twentieth Centuries of English Verse*  
 200pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.  
 0198128045

*The Humane Medievalist and other Essays in English Literature and Learning, from Chaucer to Eliot*  
 Edited by Piero Boitani  
 400pp. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, £25,000.

J. A. W. Bennett, who died on January 3, 1981, had perhaps something in common with Miss Lydgate in Dorothy Sayers's *Gaudy Night*, "that great scholar" whose kindness only halted at bed scholarship (and even there attached only the scholarship, who found "setting out footnotes properly, so that they fit in with the text, very difficult", whose "handwriting was difficult to read" and who "had perfected, or was in process of perfecting (since no work of scholarship ever attains a static perfection)" a theory of English poetry from *Beowulf* to Bridges: "a great and a very rare person".

Miss Lydgate's, Professor Bennett's mind was much more divergent than convergent, so that in his last years he was working more or less simultaneously in widely various fields. With a providentiality which seems appropriate to a man not far from being a saint of scholarship, one of his latest works was sent to the publisher shortly before, and one on the very day of his death.

The first of these, *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twentieth Centuries of English Verse*, is probably the book he would most have wished to be remembered by, a study of the English poetry of Christ's passion from the Middle Ages to the present day, which is deeply informed by his devout Catholicism, yet would only rarely reveal his faith to anyone who did not know it. The obscure intuition which he found inescapable, that we have been saved from death (but death in what sense?) and received life (but what kind of life?) because Christ suffered and died - this intuition has been unfolded in a powerful, rich and intricate variety of imagery by both poets and theologians, both for praise and for understanding. The customs, emotions, and familiar instruments of different ages have been called on, so that the cross has been trophy, talisman, shield, war-horse, musical instrument, throne, teacher's chair, stage, mast, ship, fruit-tree, Tree of Knowledge, Tree of Life, Yggdrasil, ash-tree. The tormented Christ is seen

in Anglo-Saxon poetry, as commonly in the early Middle Ages, in the image of king and soldier: later these images are lost in the knight as lover fighting to deliver his lady, while concurrently there develops the empathetic meditation which finds in Him the suffering beloved. Pagan gods have been drawn on to illustrate His sufferings - among the Norse gods perhaps (though Bennett does not think so) Balder, for whom creation wept, and more certainly Odin, who was offered, himself to himself, on the tree whose roots are not known. The sufferings of kings (Bennett thinks the mockery of Richard I might be echoed in the Towneley Passion play, and the execution of Charles I in Herrick's *Good Friday*) have been felt to illuminate and more powerfully to be illuminated by Christ's passion.

The images recur, interact and enrich one another until, as Bennett says, it becomes apparent to the mediator that "Space and time cease to matter, the events of Calvary assume cosmic significance and perpetually recur". No image ever entirely vanishes; even in the eighteenth century, when less poetry was written about the passion than at any other time, Isaac Watts uses one of the most ancient and powerful images for Christ and His cross, the place "where the young prince of glory died"; and this vision of Christ as hero was available in Watts's hymn and in J. M. Neale's translations of Venantius Fortunatus at the time when the intent and result of Ibsen's *Brand* in proclaiming "My God is young, like Hercules" was to shock.

It is only possible to hint at the treasure which Bennett brings out from the Middle Ages. He is at his best when he tracing how a phrase from Ovid about a lover's wounds, "cerne cicatrices veteris vestigia pugnae" (which sounds, though Bennett does not mention it, as if it echoes Virgil's Dido, "agnosco veteris vestigia flammae") is given to Aeneas writing, not to Dido but to Lavinia, and then symbolically attributed to Christ, as a lover wounded in defence of his mistress, pleading with her to let Him come in. This parable, with the addition of the mistress's preserving her now dead lover's bloody shirt, enters fairy-tale, with the result that the wild and beautiful story of *The Black, Black Bull of Norway* and the song of the girl in it.

Seven long years I served for thee  
 The glassy hill I climbed for thee  
 The bloody shirts I wrang for thee  
 And wilt thou not waken and turn to me?  
 (which Tolkien quotes as an example of the quasi-Christian eucatastrophe, the unexpected happy ending, char-

acteristic of fairy story) - actually is derived from the facts of Christ's passion and Christian pity for it.

Excellent also are Bennett's enriching commentaries on particular poems, especially on the passion narratives of *Piers Plowman* and on *The Dream of the Rood* (which, because of the way in which like an Anglo-Saxon riddle it avoids in its first fifty-five lines announcing its subject, he persuasively suggests that commentators have misnamed, though it seems to me that his preferred "Dream of a Rood" would be bettered by "A wonderful tree"). I think on the other hand that the wealth of parallels he finds for Dunbar's poem on the passion leads him, as is the temptation of commentators, to exaggerate its merits, though his associated judgment that "despite the bright celebratory and nobly formal verse by which Dunbar is best known, he is essentially an introspective poet" is provocatively plausible.

The great weight and merit of the book lies in the Middle Ages, allowing that for Bennett (even more than for Louis Martz or Rosemond Tuve) Andrewes, Donne, Herbert, Herrick, Alabaster, Crashaw, Vaughan, Bishop Hall and Giles Fletcher are essentially medieval, that they even compose the flowering of the Middle Ages. This concentration is partly because of his scholarly bent, but more I think because of his devotional preference for a worship that keeps its eye on the object, and his intellectual preference for a theology stressing the efficacy of the Cross as "redemptive and vicarious sacrifice" for mankind as a whole, indeed for the universe. He is quick to condemn any piety that seems to him egocentric, including Augustus Toplady's "Rock of Ages, cleft for me" with its evangelical concern for individual salvation and, most unfairly, Samuel Crossman's "My Song is Love Unknown" (which he condemns as Puritan and not part of that Ecclesiastical Anglicana of Andrewes and Herbert which in effect he admits within Catholicism).

But in general he becomes unfair after the mid-seventeenth century. Not only evangelical piety but any approach to Neoplatonism seems wrong to him. When George Herbert in an obscure Latin epigram apparently identifies Plato's soul of the world either with the universe that feels sympathy with Christ's passion or with Christ Himself, Bennett makes the sense to be a condemnation of Plato's doctrine, by what seems to me an unlikely translation of "ponas" ("lay aside" instead of "place here"). And both Traherne and Law he seems to think cut off from the great traditions he has unfolded, Traherne by

adherence to Renaissance Platonism, Law to Boehme's mysticism, which seems unjust to both, but particularly to Law, with that fine exhortation in *An Appeal*,  
 When therefore thou beholdest the Crucifix, which finely represents to thy Senses the Saviour of the World hanging on the Cross, let not thy Thoughts stay on any Sufferings, or Death, that the Malice of Men can cause; for he hung there in greater Distress than any human Power can inflict. *Josaken* of God, *feeling, bearing, and overcoming* the Pains and Darkness of that eternal Death which the fallen Soul of Adam had brought into it.

Bennett is in fact slow to admit themes which have not appeared in the grand complex of meditation on the passion by the end of the Middle Ages. Thus one of the great themes of twentieth-century thought on the passion - that "only a suffering God can help", that God to be really God, to be all-loving and omniscient, had to suffer as a man - he accepts and traces through George Eliot and the poets of the First World War. But this acceptance may be because the theme appears - perhaps, as Bennett suggests, first openly appears - in Langland. He is particularly good on Langland and on Langland's heir and counterpart David Jones; for their rich intricacy and marvellous development through and upon traditional images is part of that devotion transcending the personal to which he is committed. He goes even one careful step beyond David Jones in responding to the resurrection of the image of Christ the soldier in Wilfred Owen's vision of Christ in the private soldiers of the First World War. Langland would certainly have accepted that; but Jones, although it is hard not to see the vision in the frontispiece, words and last picture of *In Parenthesis*, explicitly rejects it in one of his letters: "I had no intention 'whatever', he says, of making Owen's 'identification' or

"analogy" between "the varied maims, deathstrokes, miseries, acts of courage etc. of the two contending forces" with the Passion of the Incarnate Logos"; "For that is a unique and profound Mystery of Faith."

Bennett, by contrast ready to accept - whether in Jones or Owen or in Patrick White's *Riders in the Chariot* - the passion perpetually re-enacted, still is careful to say that this "is not a specifically Christian or even a distinctly religious perception". Here I think he draws the limits too narrowly, and there is something therefore that he misses about twentieth-century feeling. Thus he remarks of Philip Larkin's *Oxford Book of Twentieth-Century Verse* that the only poem on the passion is Kingsley Amis's "Callow exercise", "New Approach Needed", then in a footnote (characteristically, for many of his best observations are afterthoughts) recognizes that F. T. Prince's "Soldiers Bathing" is a kind of passion poem. Another step might have led him to see that third poem in the *Oxford Book*, *The Waste Land*, contains at the beginning of its last section a passion poem, albeit one of despairing unease.

In fact Bennett holds back on the brink of recognizing how pervasive in twentieth-century literature the passion is - not only more or less explicitly, in poems such as David Gascoyne's *Miserere* and Geoffrey Hill's "Lachrymae" (which he misses), but in *Waiting for Godot* or Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*. Most likely this pervasiveness is because, as Chesterton observed in *Orthodoxy*, the passion provides the only symbol in any religion "in which God seemed for an instant to be on a pedestal". But is that not still a Christian perception? Bennett seems to allow of it only once, in the securely Catholic poem by Alice Meynell which tells us that Christ alone has explored the extreme of "man's capacity for spiritual sorrow", shown it to be not infinite and then, into, "the

## Annunciation

Thin-shouldered, shy,  
 And much alone -  
 Anxious to screen  
 The monotone

Of her young life  
 From avid eyes,  
 The curious gaze  
 Disarmed by sighs

By silence . . . but,  
 At heart, ashamed -  
 As if she knew  
 That she were blamed

For some dark sin  
 Unspecified -  
 As if the flash  
 That broke her pride

Were penance for  
 An obscure fault  
 Not to be cleansed  
 In her tears' salt.

The morning lightens  
 Through aspen trees -  
 Her flushed skin takes  
 Dawn's sober breeze

As promise of  
 The known and real  
 To which she would  
 But cannot kneel.

And the light deepens  
 Beyond the line  
 Of glittering trees;  
 Their thin leaves shine

Till they are lost  
 In whelming light  
 Like water breaking . .  
 She shields her sight

And hears the words  
 That justify  
 Her flesh, her life  
 The unashamed cry

That batters on  
 Her faltering heart,  
 Naming her pure,  
 Elect, apart

Dick Davis

## Life with Two Languages

An Introduction to Bilingualism  
**FRANÇOIS GROSIÉAN**  
 Here is a thorough discussion of the difficult political and social problems that arise whenever any of the world's four thousand languages comes in contact. Here for the first time an illuminating linguistic discussion of the way bilingualism figures in language change. Most interesting of all perhaps is Grosièan's account of the psychology of bilingualism. The author explains how children become bilingual and shows what kind of exposure to language best fosters bilingual development in the child. He also describes the bilingual adult's ability to switch from one language to another, and he examines hypotheses about the organization of languages in the brain. A series of first-hand reports describe what bilingualism feels like from the inside - what it is like to dream, swear, think, and do business in several tongues. 1982, £16.00.

## Concepts of Person

*Kinship, Caste, and Marriage in India*  
**AKOS ERŐS, L. ANA FRUZZETTI and STEVE BARNETT** Editors  
*Concepts of Person* looks at the extent to which new models of kinship, caste and marriage translate into regional and Indian models. The contributors tackle different geographical areas and such diverse topics as hierarchy, forms of address, ritual, house hold, and widowhood. But central to each chapter is a focus on the idea of the person in social relations: when, where, and how is a person a person, and how is this construction related to kinship studies in general? *Harvard Studies in Cultural Anthropology*, January 1983, £20.00.

## Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Park System

**CYNTHIA ZAITZEVSKY**  
 Frederick Law Olmsted's career in landscape architecture began with his design for Central Park in New York City. Public concern for open spaces led Boston to commission Olmsted to design peaceful country parks for the mental and physical refreshment of those who lived in the expanding city. His plan for an emerald necklace of parks for Boston, involving 2,000 acres of open land, were completed in 1893, yet his long-lasting influence shapes the city to this day. 181 pp. February 1983, £4.00.

Harvard University Press

## Invented Worlds

*The Psychology of the Arts*  
**ELLEN WINNER**

Dealing with the three major art forms - painting, music and literature - Winner shows how the artist fashions a symbolic world that transforms the experience of the observer. She probes the artist's ability to create and respond to works of art. In addition she examines children's art for what it can reveal about the artistic impulse before adult convention becomes a shaping force. Finally, in order to reach a better understanding of the biological bases of artistry, Winner discusses the art of the mentally disturbed and the neurologically impaired patient. The sum of these discussions is more than an up-to-date handbook to the field; it is nothing less than a new synthesis of our understanding of man's artistic nature. Written with admirable clarity, it will be of interest to anyone curious about the processes that underlie the creation and enjoyment of art. 120 illustrations. January 1983, £20.00.



الطالمة



## Literature in the Middle Ages

"This is a major historical discovery about the nature of late medieval literature."

## LITERATURE AS RECREATION IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

By Glending Olson

"This is a major historical discovery about the nature of late medieval literature, one of five or six such discoveries made in the present century. Glending Olson has produced not an interpretation or a theory but documented facts, facts that will alter our understanding of what medieval writers and readers thought about literature. Olson writes with clarity, conviction, and enthusiasm."—DONALD R. HOWARD, Stanford University

"This important study succeeds in demonstrating, in contrast to prevailing literary theory, that in the later Middle Ages literature was consciously intended to give recreational pleasure and to contribute to medical and psychological health."—*Library Journal*

"No medievalist can afford to ignore the new direction this book will require scholarship to take."—*Choice*

\$19.50

## THE MEDIEVAL SAGA

By Carol J. Clover

In this groundbreaking study, Clover relates the rise of imaginative prose in Iceland to the rise of imaginative prose on the Continent.

"A major critical study."—*Scandinavian Review*

"One of the most original and substantial contributions to saga scholarship that I have had the pleasure to read."—PAUL SCHACHT, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

\$18.50

## LOVE WORDS

*The Self and the Text in Medieval and Renaissance Poetry*

By Marjahn Sanders Regan  
Regan advances a new theory of literary interpretation and demonstrates it through Renaissance love poetry, a tradition extending from the troubadour poets, through Dante and Petrarch, to Shakespeare.

"Perceptive, penetrating analysis."—*Choice*

\$19.50

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS  
550 Hudson St., New York, NY 10014  
P.O. Box 280, Ithaca, New York 14850

abyss / of God's capacity for woe... Forsaken He went down, and was afraid. Here there is the perception described by William Law which seems also to shadow "East Coker", and is well put by Alice Meynell's disciple Charles Williams in his essay on the Cross, that Christ, "in the last reaches of that living death to which we are exposed... substituted Himself for us." There is even the perception which seems to glimmer in "East Coker" in the novels of Williams which influenced it or in William Golding's *Darkness Visible*—that what exists beyond the darkness in ourselves which introspection finds is the passion.

On this kind of abyss Bennett touches again, and again tangentially, in the most remarkable of the essays collected in the other of his last books, *The Humane Medievalist*: that on "Nosce Teipsum" (very much enlarged in scope and matter from an earlier essay printed in *J. R. R. Tolkien: Essays in Memoriam*). The drift of this is given when he remarks that self-scepticism ("the very mainspring of Shakespearean tragedy") is "the reverse of self-knowledge." Is he right? At any rate he assembles from two-and-a-half millennia a remarkable and useful range of materials with which to consider what "know thyself" means, from the most secular and prudential to the most mystical sense that to know

yourself is to know God, or alternatively that you cannot know yourself until you know God.

Bennett's own ideal, I think, comes out most clearly in the quotation from Carlyle about the monks of Bury St Edmunds which he gives in the essay "Carlyle and the Medieval Past": "Religion lies over them like an all-embracing heavenly canopy, like an atmosphere and life-element, which is not spoken of, which in all things is presupposed without speech." What he most dislikes is perhaps contained in the elaborate history of the phrase, "Climates of Opinions" (likewise much revised from an original essay in *English and Medieval Studies* presented to J. R. R. Tolkien), from Joseph Glanville to the present day, when "a general climate can... be created in twenty minutes": the age in which, as he almost quotes from Ronald Knox, "Suave politeness, tempering bigot zeal / Corrected / I believe / to 'one does feel'."

Some of the essays in this collection try to buttress this sense of life: those in which Bennett returns to an old theme of his, how the later Middle Ages reconciled this universe with the transcendent, nature with the supernatural—as in "Gower's *Honest Love*", "Some Second Thoughts on the Parlement of Foules" or in the claim that *A King's Quire* for the first time

resolved the conflict between courtly love, which "gave a creature the worship which belonged to the Creator" and Christian teaching. (For the first time? Is there no such resolution in Dante?) One essay comments on, and on the whole attacks Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, and in particular Tillyard's interpretation of it, in an uncharacteristically niggling way that perhaps results from a feeling that Henryson's poem, negated this resolution, or perhaps merely from a feeling (that Miss Lydgate might have shared) that Tillyard had not the depth of medieval scholarship to discuss such a poem. An excellent essay, "Vernacular and the Liturgy in the English Middle Ages", ruefully contrasts the liturgy that might have emerged from the late medieval synthesis had Coverdale's version come from the Catholic side, with what has emerged from the modern chaos.

Bennett's dream of what the early Church of England might have been, and very nearly was, emerges again in the essay "Milton's Cambridge", where Scotus, Ockham and Aquinas were still read and esteemed. This is part of an admirable series of essays constituting his own history of scholarship, beginning with one of his models, Benedictine union of physical labour, scholarship and prayer, continuing sadly through the divagations of Renaissance

scholarship, and its fall into eccentric individualism and ill health ("Leads before, his eyes grew dross of lead, / Tussis attacked him" in the case of Browning's "hero" no, his martyr), in the Middle Ages by Hickeys, and concluding triumphantly with a panegyric on another of his models, C. S. Lewis, the "Humane Medievalist" revealed.

A great deal of the pleasure in all this comes in digressions. Sometimes Bennett loses himself in these, and guiltily pulls himself up before he has quite made himself clear. There is a great deal of joy too in the misprints in *The Humane Medievalist*, of which there are far too many to list. (I wish Langland had shown us "the university man disputing.") About misprints in *Poetry of the Passion* I feel only fear: for I have detected only two ("words of malice" must be a translation of "invidiammas" must be "wounds of malice", and "footrest" should perhaps be "torment"). Since these are both proved by their being translations, and there is good evidence of the general difficulty of deciphering Bennett's handwriting, I am afraid that my not having noticed others may be a side-effect of the reverence in which I hold the learning of a good man and a great scholar.

## PERFORMING ARTS

## Raging bass

Charles Fox

BRAN PRIESTLEY  
Mingus: A critical biography  
380pp. Quartet Books. £13.95.  
07043 22757

Anger rarely incites an artist to produce his best work: it can easily become a substitute for content, a simple way of being committed. To suggest that Charles Mingus, easily the most energetic of jazz musicians, occasionally fell into that trap is not to diminish his stature as either a great jazz composer or as a bass player. "A yellow nigger", as he was called by one of his school teachers, Mingus was the son of an army sergeant who "passed" as white and who openly despised black people. Brian Priestley reveals that his subject was actually one-quarter British (his mother's father, John Phillips, came from somewhere in England). Yet Mingus brought emotional strength to his music by identifying with the plight of black Americans and by drawing upon blues and gospel music, genres that young black musicians of the 1930s, even the 1940s, had scoffed at as being too close to slavery.

Nothing could be further removed from Mingus's belligerence than the studied graciousness of Duke Ellington, yet it was Ellington who named an artistic father-figure for Mingus throughout his life. Ellingtonian textures, even the kind of plunger-muted bazzieries that Tricky Sam Nanton went in for, suffuse one of Mingus's most successful extended compositions, "The Black Saint and the Sinner Lady". Ellington never mixed racial or any other kind of politics with his music (the closest he came to that was in his suite "Black, Brown and Beige"), but Mingus regularly lambasted those whom he saw as oppressors—one ironic result is that Orval Faubus, who as governor of Arkansas achieved notoriety in 1957 by refusing to admit black children to a school in Little Rock, has acquired an

immortality he might not appreciate in Mingus's "Fables of Faubus". On the other hand, not every apparently militant title was meant to be so: "They Trespas the Land of the Sacred Sioux", apparently offering support for American Indians, turns out to have been, at least in part, a pun on the name of his fourth wife, Sue.

Mr Priestley has been handicapped by living on what is—in this context, anyway—the wrong side of the Atlantic, and has therefore been unable to track down Mingus's old school-friends or his disowned lovers: he has, however, ransacked the largely uncatalogued writings in jazz periodicals. One stroke of luck was the appearance in Britain in recent years of many of the musicians who worked for Mingus, all of them fairly eager to pass on what than experience was like. In his heyday Mingus would explain everything ("Four bars at a time", recalls the trombonist Jimmy Knepper) rather than provide the musicians with scores. On the stand, in front of an audience, he would often stop the band in full flight if the music seemed to be going askew. He even went so far as to fire musicians in the middle of a set. Not everyone relished the challenge. "Mingus was in the way so much, you couldn't play for it," says the saxophonist John Handy. "The man'd stop your solos—he was totally tyrannical." He behaved with similar arrogance to his audiences, ticking them off for clinking their glasses and berating them if they were inattentive.

Mingus was a large man, and he chose a large instrument—the double-bass. There had been remarkable bassists before him, notably Jimmy Blanton and Oscar Pettiford, but Mingus had an emotional resonance that was all his own. He played melodic lines like a virtuoso style that was taken up by, among others, Scott LaFaro and Richard Davis. Because Mingus worked at the root of the harmonic structure and was also the pivot of the rhythm section he sought to develop ways of avoiding what

bassist call "playing time", in other words just marking four beats in the bar; his phrase for his approach to the beat was "rotary perception". Priestley analyses it admirably; indeed, one of the strengths of his book is the way he dissects the music, uncovering the slightly deceptive forms that Mingus created, and more importantly—especially for those of us who are tantalized by musical echoes—identifying the different guises in which the same themes crop up, sometimes several years later (Mingus, rather ingeniously, always seemed to have been astonished that people noticed such things). There is too a discography so complete that it lists—as "unissued", of course—various concert performances in the 1960s that have only appeared on record since the book went to the printers.

Mingus died of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis in January 1979. His playing, his command of the double-bass, had already been badly affected. The stoicism of the final period seems in striking contrast to the aggressiveness of earlier years—he once broke one of Jimmy Knepper's teeth during an argument about who should orchestrate his music. But in the unabashedly romantic Mingus ludicrousness co-existed with nobility and heroism—it comes as no surprise to learn that he had an adolescent crush on Richard Strauss's *Death and Transfiguration*. Dannie Richmond, Mingus's drummer and long-time friend, recognized the contradictions: "He wanted to be like a pimp, he wanted to be a gangster, he wanted to be a musician, he wanted to be a great lover." At least some of those obsessions provided the fantasizing to be found in Mingus's autobiography, *Beneath the Underdog* (the title itself is a definition of paranoia). Priestley's book acts as a corrective to it while acknowledging the truth behind some of the ranting. It provides, in fact, a kindly but unpatronizing view of an artist whose personality was sometimes confused—even by himself—with his work, yet who created some of the most original and exciting music of our time.



"The Iron Mask" (1908) from the forthcoming *Seeing Through Photographs* by Michael Hiley (144pp. Gordon Fraser. £14.95, paperback £8.95. 0 86092 055 0).

## New from Dent

### Folk Songs Collected by Ralph Vaughan Williams

Edited by ROY PALMER

A wide-ranging, representative and highly enjoyable selection of 121 songs collected by Ralph Vaughan Williams in the first few years of this century. Music for all the songs is provided as well as their sources. £10.95

Now available in paperback

### Cathedrals and Abbeys in England and Wales

RICHARD MORRIS

"As an archaeologist specialising in ecclesiastical sites, he has been able to incorporate some of the most up-to-date research in this stage-by-stage study, which enables the general reader to form a sound impression of the development of some of the Church's most outstanding buildings." *Cambridge Evening News*  
Illustrated with 8 pages of colour and 150 black-and-white photographs, and 86 ground plans and line drawings. £4.95

### Endangered Lives: Public Health in Victorian Britain

ANTHONY WOHL

An original, lively and important book which examines the social and physical environment in which the Victorians lived, the effects their surroundings had upon health and the way public health was administered.  
Illustrated with 8 half-tones  
28 April £17.50

### New in Everyman Paperback

**The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes**  
HOLMES  
SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE  
New introduction by DAVID SINCLAIR  
£1.50

**The Portrait of a Lady**  
HENRY JAMES  
New introduction by W.W. ROSSON  
£2.50

**The Red Badge of Courage**  
STEPHEN CRANE  
New introduction by MALCOLM BRADSHAW  
£1.50

**Now in Everyman Paperback**

**Marlowe: Complete Plays and Poems**  
SOLLY LEE, PENNEY and J.C. MAXWELL  
£3.50

**Available again in Everyman Paperback**

**Villella**  
CHARLOTTE BRONTE  
New introduction by MARGARET DRABBLE  
£1.50

**Complete List of Books in the Everyman Paperback Series**  
New titles are listed in the Everyman Paperback Series. Write to: Everyman Books, 100 Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP.

Dent, 23, Walpole St., London W1M 8LX

## The clerical and the caring

Benedicta Ward

CAROLINE WALKER BYNUM

*Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*  
279pp. University of California Press. £21.50.  
0 520 04194 1

It is instructive to reflect upon the alterations made by contemporary interests and fads to the assessment of historical material. In this volume of essays by Caroline Walker Bynum there is a combined version of two papers she had previously presented on feminine aspects of spirituality in the Middle Ages, under the title "Jesus our Mother". In 1949, Abbé Cabusut published an article in the *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, "Une Dévotion médiévale peu connue: la dévotion à Jésus notre mère", with a cautious recommendation that the texts he cites, "sans exagérer leur importance", deserve the notice of both theologians and historians of spirituality. Thirty-three years later, Dr Bynum comes to much the same conclusion on a wider range of texts, but it appears that her publishers sense a different climate. This essay has suggested the title of the whole book and is surely deliberately provocative in the brave new world of "women's liberation". The idea of a female God is brought to mind, coloured either with the brilliant red of crusade or the requiem black of outraged propriety. This is a touchy issue; but those who buy Dr Bynum's book for partisan reasons will perhaps be disappointed. It is in no sense a work of polemic but a collection of careful and serious essays by a discriminating scholar, which gives support to feminist campaigners only by illustrating the essentially sexless nature of genuine historical scholarship.

The major studies in this book are those concerned with the spirituality of the Canons Regular in the twelfth century, a much neglected area, except for Dr Bynum's own *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: an aspect of twelfth century spirituality* (1979). The preaching concerns of the canons are again analysed here, and, by the comparing and contrasting of their life with the monastic life, a distinction between the two is suggested in an illuminating way: "what is new and distinctive about the canons as a group is not their actions or the rights they claim. It is simply the quality of their awareness, their sense of responsibility for the edification of their fellow men", a theory which sheds new light upon the place of the canons between the monks and the friars.

The second essay, "The Cistercian Conception of Community", is linked to the third: "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?". While the former essay is somewhat slight and

omits many aspects of the subject which would be needed for complete study (for instance, the Cistercian understanding of the solitary life as a corporate solitude, and the extent to which the "guilt" Dr Bynum detects in certain writings is merely a literary technique), it provides a useful introduction to the next essay. This makes a vigorous and sensible contribution to a "revolt of the medievalists" which, as the author notes, began at least fifty years ago, but was given special popularity by Colin Morris's book *The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200* (reprinted, 1973). The twelfth century's new understanding of the concept of the individual has been established and explored, but it is now necessary to see that a concern with community, with groups and their differentiation from one another, is also a mark of the century. Dr Bynum provides useful evidence to illustrate this point, by stressing and calling attention to the number of texts which are about the definition and classification of groups.

The next 150 pages at first suggest that they should bear a warning, "Ladies Only". There is the essay which gives its title to the book and an equally long essay on some women mystics of the thirteenth century, notably Gertrude of Helfta, Mechthild of Hackborn and Mechthild of Magdeburg, a group of nuns connected with the monastery of Helfta, whose reports of their visions form the largest group of mystical writings by women in the period. "Jesus as Mother" is a sober discussion of the use of maternal imagery in the twelfth century to describe certain ideas about the relationship of Christians to God and Christ, and about religious authority in general. Beginning with the striking passage in a "Prayer to St Paul" by St Anselm of Canterbury, in which the tenderness and care for others which can be seen in Christ and His apostle is distinguished as a "maternal" kind of love, Dr Bynum passes on to the more extensive use of maternal imagery in the writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux, where a stronger emphasis on such love, as being life-giving and therefore sacrificial is apparent. The Cistercian writers who followed St Bernard, Aelred of Rievaulx, Gueric of Igny and Adam of Perseigne, continued to make use of such language, and Dr Bynum naturally concludes this list with passages from the *Revelations of Divine Love* by Julian of Norwich, well known for their precise theology and the vigour of their maternal imagery.

In the second essay in this part, Dr Bynum changes her perspective, and explores the use of "female" imagery by women rather than men. While her gained from the information to be about themselves? The twelfth-century religious people felt very minor role such imagery plays in any medieval writing, some of the facts

demonstrated are both startling and suggestive. For instance, the close connection, for both men and women in this period, of maternal imagery, in its aspects of union as well as nurturing, with authority and responsibility, is particularly illuminating. Maternal nurturing—spiritual motherhood one might call it—is amply illustrated by the author's analysis of the great women of Helfta who provide instances of a strong and sensible piety, and an authority quite other than the clerical authority of men, but of equal power and perhaps providing a balance to it. This is suggestive for the present concerns in the Church with the role of women in relation to authority in things of the spirit. In this "poised, self-

## Benefits of clergy

Gerard Irvine

SIMON GOODENOUGH

*The Country Parson*  
184pp. David and Charles. £7.95.  
0 7153 8238 1

"Clerus anglicanus, stupor mundi." When this phrase was coined what astonished the world in the Anglican clergy was their godliness and sound learning. These are sober and modest enough ideals for men whose claim to title is to be *perpetua Christi* in and to the community. Yet perhaps on the whole the English parson has been most esteemed when he has fulfilled that modest ambition; and mocked at when he has made pretensions to a nobler claim.

In fact neither godliness nor sound learning has always characterized the English parson. Lord Chesterfield reminds us, "Parsons are very like other men, and neither the better nor the worse for wearing a black gown." And as for learning, in the Middle Ages the country parson was nothing more than a peasant with just enough literacy to master the offices. The more able clerks were apportioned off into religious orders and/or the royal and ecclesiastical civil services. After the Reformation things were little better, as the returns of the diocese of Gloucester show. Of the 311 parsons in the diocese 168 could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, and ten could not recite the Lord's Prayer. It was only in the eighteenth century that the clergy became upgraded socially and educationally with the ideal of "a gentleman in each parish" to be the centre of advice, concern and social as well as spiritual welfare; roles which have now been taken over by the secular agencies of a less paternalistic age.

Some thirty years ago another, and more substantial, book entitled *The English Country Parson*, by William Addison, was published. The book seems to have leaned heavily on the same source material, since nearly all the facts and anecdotes in Simon Goodenough's book appear also in the earlier work.

The history of the changing status of the country parson has been set out by Simon Goodenough in this well-produced and engaging little book. Inevitably any attempt to compress the history of fifteen hundred years into a hundred and seventy pages must be selective and thematic. Goodenough has chosen to concentrate on the economic basis of the parson's role. It clarifies the (to the layman) mysteries of advowsons, benefices, tithes, the differences between rectors and lay rectors, and between rectors of a sort and vicars—results of the peculiar system of tenure in the C of E which have shaped the life-style of the parsons. To him, rightly, "the Achilles heel of the story" is the twin scandals of the absentee and the pluralist, which have caused the Church to limp from Norman times to (almost) our own days.

He is less concerned with the "godward side" of the parson's occupation; the patterns of worship and standards and belief which might be supposed to be equally determinative of the priestly life. The effects of the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century are hardly a mention. Yet these two theological movements affected most profoundly the life of the Church and of the priest. Sadly there is no reference whatever to the theological revolution of our own day, typified by the Parish and People movement in the C of E or by Vatican II in the Roman Catholic Church, which is surely as radical as the Reformation itself.

Some thirty years ago another, and more substantial, book entitled *The English Country Parson*, by William Addison, was published. The book seems to have leaned heavily on the same source material, since nearly all the facts and anecdotes in Simon Goodenough's book appear also in the earlier work.

## Acting dumb

John Stokes

GARY CAREY

*Judy Holliday: An Intimate Life Story*  
271pp. Robson. £7.95.  
0 86051 169 3

According to Gary Carey, when Judy Holliday faced the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1952, she adopted the dumb-blonde style of her most famous role—"Billie Dawn"—from the movie *Born Yesterday*. Asked if she was aware that Thomas Mann and Albert Einstein belonged to Communist fronts, she replied, with ingenious goodwill, that if they really were Communists, there was no need for them to hide behind a front: "Why not be a Communist? Whatever you are, be it." Carey believes that dramatic imperative to have been both a statement of principle and for those who had ears to hear, a confession of enforced dissembling.

As an explanation of apparently logical behaviour, this has the virtue of recognizing Holliday's ingenuity as a performer, though "Whatever you are, be it" also carries the mechanical ring of 1930s hip. Was Holliday, who enjoyed the company of jazzmen and later set up home with the saxophonist Gerry Mulligan, instinctively responding, in her hour of need, with one of the strategic inanities of the time?

Holliday is not always so well served by a biographer who works on the principle that persons are easily accounted for in the light of later developments. "If Holliday's career had coincided with the present era," Carey proposes, "she would have found greater latitude in expressing her 'fan of old movies'." Carey, who was a dubious, if Holliday's career had coincided with the present, she would certainly have been a different

woman. Penelope Gilliatt got closer to the mark when she wrote that Holliday "caricatures the dopey, pampered woman her men think they want... she does it partly because she finds the disguise a useful decoy that gives her space to think".

Holliday's brilliance lay in the use of disguise as a means of discovery, her goofy way of getting to know who she was. Born in 1921, she grew up in Queens, the product of an unsuccessful marriage between second-generation Jewish immigrants with strong socialist convictions, "Judith Tuvim", as she then was, emerged into a world of changing identities. There is much to suggest that she needed the "space to think".

In the two Cukor classics for which she is best remembered, Holliday's image combines highly stylized comedy with intimate exposure. In *Adam's Rib* she is a Bronx housewife, charged with the attempted murder of her unfaithful husband, who becomes a pawn in a memorable battle between Katherine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy. The film is now so admired that it comes as a surprise to discover that Holliday insisted on her own part being glamorized before she would take it on. In *Born Yesterday*, however, her conventionally glossy appearance does little to hinder "the dawning of Billie", as she accompanies her corrupt lover into the murky of Washington politics, jetsetting him along the way. What links these stunning performances, apart from their latent feminism, is the American conviction that democratic processes should reflect the values of emotional spontaneity. In both cases, the dizzy approach to life is both supererogatory and vindicated.

Operating at a level below that of the bleakly, solemn "buff", but considerably above that of the trivializing "POOF" (current acronym for "fan of old movies"), Carey, who teaches at the School of Visual Arts in New York, is anxious to abet his

students' belief in progress. Since his views are invariably civilized, one is at first apt to applaud the bromides. When Holliday married, her political activities diminished, but then "the post-World War II era was, in fact, a repressive period for women". In 1960 she discovered that she had cancer. (It killed her four years later), and she was terrified: but in those days, cancer was "a subject never discussed in polite circles".

In Carey's essentially optimistic view of American history, the presentation of mere facts eventually takes on its own reassuring tone. Consider another of his commentators: Holliday suffered because, in the early 1950s, no major star could be overtly Jewish; "Barbra Streisand would change all that—but in 1951, Streisand was nine years old." Both statements may be undeniable, but joined in this way they prop up the Hollywood myth that stars are born to save. In reality, stars are made, not just welded by the studios, but forged out of cultural contradiction. Judy Holliday was a wonderfully inventive and dedicated actress. She was also bound to traditions that her profession required her to deny; abused by some men, she was cherished by others; a woman in conflict. That is why her real self is more accurately glimpsed in the strident courage of her roles than through the consoling hindsight of "Intimate" biography.

The *British Alternative Theatre Directory 1982*, edited by Catherine Ikin (400pp. Eastbourne: Offord. £6.90/3931 49 4), is the fourth edition of a guide to the Fringe which now contains sections on 220 theatre companies, 284 venues, a community... theatre, performance art, dance companies, mime, young people's theatre, puppet companies, and rehearsal rooms. Names, addresses and telephone numbers are supplied, also, for 436 playwrights, 249 directors and 94 designers, with details given of the principal national and international festivals.



# Luminaries of the law

Zelman Cowen

DANIEL DUMAN

The Judicial Bench in England 1727-1875: The Reshaping of a Professional Elite

208pp. Royal Historical Society. £16. (28.87 to members, from Swift Printers (Sales) Ltd., 17, Albion Place, London, EC1M 5RE.) 0 91050 80 6

The English and Colonial Bars in the Nineteenth Century

228pp. Croom Helm. £13.95. 0 85664 486 4

J. R. LEWIS

The Victorian Bar

174pp. Robert Hale. £9.95. 0 7090 0533 4

In 1888, James Bryce wrote of the English Bar that "certainly no English institution is more curiously and distinctively English than this body". The standing of the Bar among the professions in nineteenth-century England was high; socially and politically it was the most prominent of them. Barristers comprised the most numerous occupational group in the House of Commons, and in the latter part of the century they accounted for about one-fifth of its membership.

The judges of the superior courts, numerically a small body, were drawn from the ranks of the practising Bar. These appointments were highly prized and the judges had a very high standing in English public and social life. Thomas Arnold wrote that he desired nothing more for his son than that he should attain such judicial office. For the most part, the judges were successful and well-known members of the Bar, though there were rare exceptions; Blackburn who was appointed by Lord Campbell to the Court of Queen's Bench in 1859 was little known and had no great practice. He was a distinguished judge who established an enduring reputation and was appointed as the first Lord of Appeal in Ordinary under the Appellate Jurisdiction Act of 1876. At the end of the century a few had appointments by Lord Halsbury during his very long Lord Chancellorship attracted much criticism, but, overall, these were exceptional among a large number of sound and well-accepted nominations made during this time.

The nineteenth-century English Bar was a small professional body. In 1830 it was numbered under 2,500, though in the course of the next fifty years it almost trebled, even if no other profession had so many qualified members who did not practise. The path to success was rarely very comfortable or easy; many who attained success and professional distinction had long years of bitterness. Walter Bagehot wrote that a man should not go to the Bar unless he had some particular connection or money enough to keep him in idleness for years. In these early years, a needy barrister might seek support from other sources; some earned money from journalism, some had university fellowships. Richard Bethell, later Lord Westbury and Lord Chancellor, had the comfort of the Vinerian Law Scholarship from Oxford.

There were rules against "outing for business", but influence and connections helped the young barrister powerfully. A physician's fees, it was said, had sometimes been set off or cancelled in consideration of a little timely patronage bestowed upon a barrister's son. The most useful of all connections was with members of the lower branch of the profession; the solicitors and attorneys who gave the barristers their work. James Bryce, writing this time in 1864, observed that "some powers of thought and speech are still needed to make a man a leading Q.C., and something still more to make him Solicitor-General, but to get into a steady £800 a year practice, improvable by fair diligence to £1,200 the one thing needful is interest with solicitors". Connections were an early life-line, but continuing support fell away in the face of incompetence.

The distinctive character of the profession had been long established: in the nineteenth century, as before, since, the barrister was the epitome of the independent professional practitioner. He could not enter into partnership with another barrister or with a solicitor; he could not become a permanent employee and still continue to practise as an advocate. There were rules relating to fees and other matters. During the century, some of the rules relating to professional conduct underwent change in such matters as the way in which a barrister might travel, live and conduct himself while on circuit. The coming of the railway affected the character of circuit life; barristers' hearts, it was said, were "with their return tickets".

The governing bodies of the profession, the Inns of Court, were the oldest professional societies in England and their control over the professional lives and discipline of their members was powerful and endured throughout the nineteenth century, despite the efforts of reformers. At the end of the century, the General Council of the Bar was established, but while it fulfilled a demand for a representative professional association which accommodated the entire practising Bar, it did little to diminish the dominant authority of the Inns of Court or to affect their constitution and structures, and they substantially maintained their customary privileges.

The Inns of Court had long since lost their educational character and responsibilities. For long, the rite of passage to professional admission and practice was apprenticeship in the chambers of a barrister, a special pleader or a conveyancer. For the greater part of the century, there was no required examination and it was as late as 1872 that the Bar, the last stranger among the professions, established a compulsory examination for admission to practice. Even then it was a poor thing; the *Law Times* complained in 1875 that "the paper requires such a small knowledge that practically the examination affords no test of legal knowledge". There were opponents of examinations; it was claimed that the requirement of a formal legal education followed by examination distracted the would-be barrister from the real task of learning the law. "The paramount evil of the ordeal of examination", it was said, "is that it discourages what I may call the principles of 'apprenticeship'". The three years' preparation for the Bar ought to be spent in the chambers of counsel." Lord Selborne's repeated

attempts to establish a general school of law at a legal university - failed to win support in an atmosphere hostile to what were seen as impractical studies in law, with little relevance to daily practice. So it was said, and these attitudes persisted far into the twentieth century, as I well know; there have long been tensions between the academic and the practising and, I fear, more so in the law than in other professions.

These three books tell us a good deal about the legal profession in the nineteenth century and particularly about the Bench and Bar. Daniel Duman's *The Judicial Bench in England 1727-1875* has a wider reach in time, as the title discloses. Its terminal year is that which saw the completion of the great reorganization of the English judiciary. An earlier reform movement, which followed the retirement of that most powerful obstacle to change, Lord Eldon, from the Woolsack in 1827, was followed in the 1860s by an active campaign to restructure and consolidate "all Superior Courts of Law and Equity together with the Courts of Probate, Divorce and Admiralty into one court called the Supreme Court of Judicature". The efforts of a body of lawyers and judges, Lords Selborne and Cairns prominent among them, substantially achieved these objects with the passage of the Judicature Acts of 1873 and 1875, which established a Supreme Court consisting of a High Court and a Court of Appeal.

Duman's book on the Judicial Bench furnishes a great deal of information about the English judiciary in this period. He uses a computer and statistical analysis to present material which relates to the social origins, education, professional training and experience of the judges. It deals with their social, family and political lives, with their interests outside the law, their life-styles, their holdings and investments. The author, who is a professional historian in an Israeli university, necessarily has much to say about the Bar from which the judicial bench was drawn, and this he follows up in a second book, *The English and Colonial Bars in the Nineteenth Century*, in which he uses similar techniques. Duman has unearthed a mass of interesting material which throws much light on Bar and Bench, and he makes a very useful contribution to the study of professionalism and of the patterns and development of professional life. There is a great temptation to quote from his many interesting findings and conclusions.

## Setting back Fagin

Gillian Sutherland

PHILLIP MCCANN AND FRANCIS A. YOUNG

Samuel Wilderspin and the Infant School Movement

314pp. Croom Helm. £15.95. 0 7090 2803 X

Critics and historians of literature have written extensively and illuminatingly about changing attitudes towards children at the beginning of the nineteenth century, stressing the importance of the innocence of childhood both as concept and as metaphor. Historians of education, however, have been slow to see how far, if at all, such changing attitudes were translated into educational precept and practice, preoccupying themselves instead with counting exercises - signatures on marriage registers, schools' levels of fees, patterns of attendance. Philip McCann and Francis A. Young's book therefore fills a great gap and fills it admirably. The sources used are both a model and a treasure-trove. The book is beautifully produced, with even the luxury of footnotes at the bottom of the page.

The core of the book is a lively account of the extraordinary career of Samuel Wilderspin, Dr Young's great

One must suffice: when Gilbert in *Trials by Jury* attributed the Judge's progress to his marriage with a rich attorney's elderly, ugly daughter, he was not on a well-established track. In almost 150 years only four men who later became superior judges married the daughters of solicitors. Duman's evidence, based on the ages at which the judges married, and their marriage patterns, as well as on the social origins of their wives, suggests that it is not clear that the judges selected their partners with an eye to improving their professional chances by choosing the right father-in-law. Of course the analysis stops at 1875, and what happened in the harsh century which followed awaits another, or maybe the same historian and another computer analysis.

I have a special personal interest in Duman's chapter on the Colonial Bar. With the prospect of slow progress in a crowded Bar at home, opportunities overseas looked more encouraging and the *Law Times* in 1863 recorded that it was fortunate for the Bar of England that the colonies offered the prospect of professional success. "There is a way to speedy success abroad if only he had the right stuff in him as well as on him." Much earlier in the century, barristers from Great Britain and Ireland were making their way to the Australian colonies. In 1980 I gave an address in Melbourne to mark the centenary of the death of Sir Redmond Barry, who had come from Ireland to Australia in 1839, and who made not only a successful career in the law, but also contributed greatly to the establishment and development of many major public and cultural institutions in the colony of Victoria.

Not long after his death, a local writer recorded that "the colony has reason to remember him as the founder of almost all those institutions which have helped to make this community, otherwise so prosperous in merely material wealth, of at least equal prosperity in intellectual resources". The case of Barry was special, but there were others who came in quest of success and fortune in the law, and who stayed to serve their colonial communities with distinction.

There is another point about the contribution of British lawyers to the colonies. It has been said by Lord Devlin in an elegant essay on "The Judge as Law Maker" that

It is British justice rather than English or Scots law that has been the gift of British lawyers to the world. You cannot visit the countries of the Commonwealth without realizing that. Those who brought the gift to those countries

were the second best, for naturally the best stayed at home; their social contribution to the countries in which they served was nil; they were, if you like, the judicial blimps. But it was the handwork of the blimps that has survived.

I do not think that Lord Devlin is speaking of men like Barry who came to make their lives and careers in the colony, but rather of those who moved from office to office and place to place in colonial service.

J. R. Lewis's *The Victorian Bar* is a different kind of book, though it complements and overlaps with the material in the others. It is a light-hearted, gossip account of the nineteenth-century Bar and its changing patterns and styles. It tells of barristers and of judges, of their rise and their fall, their styles and their morals. One story appears to have special appeal for its author. Within the space of twenty pages he tells us twice that Alexander Cockburn, later Lord Chief Justice, was always accompanied on circuit by Lady Cockburn, but "she tended to be a different Lady Cockburn each time". He also notes that this predilection did not amuse the Queen and probably cost Cockburn the Lord Chancellorship. He attained judicial rank of great eminence, however, and it is interesting to reflect that it was Cockburn's high Victorian language in the *Hicklin* case which provided the test for the common-law determination of obscenity for a long time afterwards.

I think the test of obscenity is this: whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscene is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.

There are accounts of *causes célèbres* like the extraordinary *Titchborne* case or of Edwin James, who built up a great practice at the English Bar but whose career there ended in disgrace and flight - he made a second start in practice in the United States. A much happier story of a second career is that of Judah P. Benjamin, who had had a distinguished life in the law and politics in the United States and who had been offered and refused a seat on the Bench of the Supreme Court. He was a leading member of the Confederate government in the Civil War, and when the war was lost he fled to England. Not only did he write one of the classics of English law, *Benjamin on Sales*, but he also built up a very good practice and won high esteem at the English Bar.

approach was a narrower and more repressive one, with denominational drilling firmly as its centrepiece. These two episodes alone make us realise why Russell, Landow and Kay-Shuttleworth did not dare to proceed with more ambitious schemes for national education at the end of the 1830s. The ways in which the initiatives represented by Wilderspin were deformed and choked help us understand more clearly how so much of the provision for the education of the labouring poor in the nineteenth century became restricted and arid.

*Yearbook of European Law*, 1 (1981) 472pp. Oxford University Press. £40. 0 19 825384 2. aims, in the words of its editor, F. G. Jacobs, to contribute to the development of European law by publishing substantial and original work of enduring interest. This first volume includes articles on "The European Court of Justice and Human Rights" by M. H. Mendelssohn, on "Common Fisheries Policy" by Richard Wainwright, on "Self-Restraint by the EEC in the Exercise of its External Powers" by G. L. Close and on "The European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism" by Michael C. Wood. A section, "Annual Surveys", includes papers by Hans-Jürgen Bartsch on the Council of Europe and by Elio Aghet Freeman on "Decisions of the European Court of Justice Relating to the Jurisdiction of the Court".

POETRY

## A philosopher of captions

Blake Morrison

PETER PORTER

Collected Poems

335pp. Oxford University Press.

£12.50.

0 19211948 6

Peter Porter has never lacked for recognition, but it isn't the sort of recognition a contemporary poet can be satisfied with. To be praised by a poet's peers (as he is in the current issue of *Poetry Review* in his honour), to be represented in the influential anthologies (as he was in A. Alvarez's *The New Poetry* and Philip Larkin's *Collected Poems*), to have reviewers press down on your behalf: this can't be something to complain about; but it is not to be one of the select body of post-war poets - Larkin, Hughes, Hill, Gunn, Heaney and now, it seems, C. S. Lewis - who enjoy the acclaim of a wider public. That public may be confined largely to schools, colleges and universities, but to be deprived of the chance of reaching it is bad for a poet's self-esteem. And though Porter has shown himself to be healthily sceptical about the processes of contemporary dedication, resentment of a sort has left its mark on him. His attitude to Academe is tetchy; normally generous to a fault as poetry reviewer over the last ten years or so for the *Observer*, he can be judiciously about the Chosen Ones of the syllabus, and his recent revision of Michael Roberts's *Faber Book of Modern Verse* goes out of its way to exclude well-loved school anthology pieces (no "Fern Hill" for Dylan Thomas, no "Quaker Graveyard" or "For the Union Dead" for Larkin, no "On the Move" for Larkin or "Daddy" for Plath). Not being a megalomaniac, uncertain of the reach of poetry generally, a modest art, he has notoriously called it) and of his own in particular, he has allowed himself only such small revenges. But a grievance of sorts is there.

If an injustice has been done to Porter, part of the difficulty has been in locating a central poetic personality. "Who is Peter Porter?" Stephen Spender famously asked twenty years ago, in an *Encounter* review of the Penguin Modern Poets selection of Porter which provided no biographical notes. By now the biography has been filled in, yet the question in a sense still applies: where is the true poet among the many masks? Canonization demands a canon; recognition requires that there be something recognizable - a voice, method or allegiance. But Porter's voice is garrulous, ranging freely between implausible extremes; his "method" has been to take on everything - lyrics, odes, narratives, dramatic monologues, sonnet sequences, haikus, found poems, postcard poems, homilies, "versions" and translations; his brief allegiance to the "Group" never counted for much even in the 1960s and has long since passed into history. As for a canon, the open-door policy of his *Collected Poems* can be seen, not - as he would like it to be seen - as a high-minded refusal of high-mindedness ("Reading through the many pages of this book, I have often been visited by feelings of disapproval of my gauche or cocky past to the man who wrote these poems"), but as an admission of defeat: reviewers have never succeeded in telling the good from the bad, and nor has the poet, so we had better have the lot.

There is the further difficulty of deciding which literary tradition Porter belongs to: he was born in Australia, and still holds an Australian passport, yet has lived in England all his adult life. When James McAuley left him out of his critical anthology *A Map of Australian Verse* in 1975, it was because Porter had "given it as his opinion that it would not be appropriate to represent him in this volume". It isn't that Porter hasn't been a home-made poet, like other literary Australians; *emigre* here, he has remade himself in a new image: as he says himself in the poem "Evolution", "I haven't an atom in my body which I brought to Europe in 1951". This, and Porter's evident

delight in the Englishness of the English language ("language / I would go into the jungle with" "So useful for asking for fasteners in / As well as for caning professors"), put the onus on the English to take him into their tradition; they have, after all, a record of appropriating Irish and American poets, no matter how loudly these sing of their alien roots. But here, precisely, is the problem. Porter is scarcely interested in "roots"; he won't fit the niche of mound-hugger or poet of place. "Some of us feel at home nowhere", he writes in "On First Looking into Chapman's Hesiod", a poem in which, having refused his Australian background, he dreams of the anonymity of a Utopian city "Where one escapes from what one is and who / One was".

Obscurity has not prevented other poets - Geoffrey Hill, for example - from receiving their due. But Porter has had no Christopher Ricks as intercessor; and even his admirers can be reduced to hair-tearing desperation by lines like these from "There Are Too Many of Us":

I see him there, the dedicated man,  
His wife in her dressing gown boiling eggs.  
Flinty smuts of indignation  
Constellated round his eyes - he handles  
A letter like a search warrant  
And some must burn and some must pay for this;

His cholera is how the gods of chance  
Fixed the fringes of the world,  
A paradigm of the judging sun,  
To be a lion eye in winter  
Through liberal mist but finally  
To plate the prophet's face with gold.



"Three pregnant women": a woodcut made in Augsburg in 1549. Now in the library of the Wellcome Institute, 183 Euston Road, London NW1, the print is included in the exhibition of German Prints on view at the Institute until May 6.

In this ambition, at least, he has had some measure of success: so invisible is a "real self" in the poems that he has contrived to be thought of as two quite different sorts of poet. For some he is known as a social poet, jokey and journalistic, full of Poppen drives and Horatian pleasantries, driven by a love-hate obsession - a Bejamsmania - with the brand-names and shop-fronts of the age: "Espresso sugar" "this new Daks suit" "the Triumph Dealer's window" "Phaidon and Skira books" "Heals and Harrods" "eating in Lyons" "windowings of Vogue" "the Fantasy" Sa Tortuga, Grisi, Bongio Bo". On unusually intimate terms with commerce and consumerism, he veers between high life and low life, one minute boggle-eyed about the sophistication and affectation of the rich ("She's talking about the different tastes / Of oysters: she can't mean it"), the next bogged down in tacky Orwellian detail of tea-rooms and coffee bars:

Under a covering of yellow glass  
Old celluloid, cream-and-tan, tongue-  
and-ham  
Sandwiches shine complacently, skewered  
By 1/6 a round . . .

But if the world is too much with this, it's scarcely evident at all in some of his other work; he has gained a reputation for obscurism, for disappearance into clouds of unknowing. A caricature of this sort of Porter poem would have a grandiose title ("The Future", say), a German epigraph, an unidentified narrator from a little-known classical legend, an allusion to an unperformed opera, a description of a sixteenth-century Italian painting (perhaps one by Sophonisba Anguisciola), a fractured syntax, a train of thought comprehensible only to the poet himself, and the family cat. Picking up Porter's allusions, even knowing that they are there to be picked up, is a particular problem: as Clive James confesses in an otherwise commendatory piece in *Poetry Review*, "Some of Porter's poems are so freighted with learned references that I can't, even tell, 'my body which I brought to Europe' in 1951". This, and Porter's evident

This comes from *The Last of England* (1970) and its shift from quotidian close-up to hazy for sometimes, as here, just murky long shot can stand for a turning-point in Porter's work overall. There is indeed a version of his career which dissolves his work's apparently contradictory elements into a "development": he is the simple satirical poet of the 1960s who turned serious and obscure in the 1970s. This is too neatly alliterative (even in his Group days Porter was known as an "acid, gloomy young man" with a tendency towards ellipses) but, let's say, certainly true that satire and comedy came more easily to him than they came to most of the pleasures of the age. One of the pleasures of the 1960s: cavalry-willed tame publishers, Classics honours men promoting Jazzzy, bored fashion-writers, over-sexed actors, concrete poets in dachshund pumps, documentary film-makers poet-messiahs who "think no one is any good / except a poet from Alberta, / Catullus and some friends who run / a mimeographed magazine". Few are exempt from competitive ("trying to keep it up with the Joneses") and the aesthetically pretentious ("Anything silly / to be said or sung can always be staged"). In this idiom even God - "a Super Director / who's terribly good at crowd scenes" - has the look of a Tom Wolfe trendy.

It was for his swinging account of Swinging London, "The Elizabethan Chelsea Set", that Porter first made his name; justly so. And yet the *Collected Poems* make clear that he was equipped for satire only up to a point, for he is a form that requires fluency and forthrightness, and mustn't be afraid to leave a bad taste in the mouth; he who hesitates is lost. Porter, however, does hesitate; he can't keep up the necessary vehemence; he loves the thing he kills. It's not that he can't find it in him to be

a hater; that would be too wimpy a view, given the splenic process described in "What a Lying Lot the Writers Are": "To put it all down I take my pencil up / And a bludge of hate can be sliced up to you". The problem is more a technical one of sustaining his mockery to the bitter end. This is noticeable in what is probably the best of the early satires, "Made in Heaven", which begins making fun by making puns ("The girl who married money kept her maiden head", "The labour-saving kitchen to match the labour-saving thing / She'd fitted before marriage"), then slides towards pity for its victim, and ends up speaking in her voice:

She thought: I wanted to be a dancer once -  
It's a pity  
I've done none of the things I thought I  
wanted to  
Found nothing more exacting than my own  
good looks, got through  
Half a dozen lovers whose faces I can't quite  
remember  
(I can still start the Rose Adagio, one foot  
on the fender)

But at least I'm safe from everything but  
cancer -  
The apotheosis of the young wife and  
mediocre dancer.

The satire is also muted because the young Porter is much drawn to girls of this sort, even though they are usually shown giving him the push. The stance of his early love poems is conventionally Prufrockian, hapless and defeated ("few young boys were kissed as / Rarely as I was", "snubbed by that bouffant giggly girl", but it's also hypergamic in a typically early-1960s way, the lowly young provincial, dressed in "hairy tweed" and "hairy of soul", aspiring to sex with an upper-middle-class girl who perhaps takes him up briefly but then "reverts to type" (the modern equivalent of the Victorian gentleman, "she won't marry the men she sleeps with"). There are several such poems - "Metamorphosis" and "Beast and the Beauty" among them - and in retrospect they look mannered and derivative: "I am the only image I can force upon the town" is pure Thom Gunn, for instance, and there is much of the callow talk of the werewolf yearnings of the collar. But the awkward yearnings of the collar, the young persons (for "girls in Joneses", "the blonde from the chemists", "a girl in the Everest Milk Bar") are authentic enough, and there is one remarkable poem about envy of the sexually successful, "The Anthropologist's Confession", where the anthropologist watches with vicarious pleasure the rape of a beautiful young girl by a goatherd, then revenges himself by having the goatherd killed by the village headman. Moreover, earned though Porter is about the gap between the "Two Nations" ("The Rich and the Poor, the South and the North? / No, the Attractive and Unattractive"), it does prevent him from sending up sexual relations (and himself), as he does in the absurd "practical tips" of "How to Get a Girl Friend":

Say to her, Darling, kiss my hot ear,  
Touch my eyes with your tongue,  
Care me of the plagues in my mind,  
You are the great Atlas of my childhood,  
All your massive strength, all your power,  
Crawling to me across the tall, Car-  
pathians.

Alvarez's selection of Porter for *The New Poetry* was astute in selecting the best of his early work but misleading about its range. It's clear, now, that a good many other themes were being pursued - memories of Australian school-days, meditations on the deaths of elderly neighbours and strangers, parables of a Europe that includes Vienna and the Somme as well as London and Auschwitz. There was even, briefly, the suggestion that Porter might enlarge his art of bourgeois-baiting and become a fully-fledged political poet. In "Your Attention Please" he has left one of the very few poems from the first wave of the CND movement that still stand up to its technical detail: "plasma tanks" ("Boiler barometer", "plasma tanks", "D.C. great container"), but its effectiveness is both comic and regrettably plausible.

Some of us may die,  
Remember, suddenly,  
It's not that he can't find it in him to be

Massachusetts

Class, Sports, and Social Development

Richard S. Grinnau

Foreword by Charles H. Page

In noting the considerable recent work on the sociology of sport, the author argues that much of this analysis has been marked by a withdrawal from sociology's classical tradition. He attempts to recover that tradition and redress significant aspects of it by focusing on the central questions of human agency and freedom in the development of sport in western capitalism.

"A veritable *tour de force*, a lucid and elegantly written book which makes a major contribution both to the sociology of sport and to Marxist sociology" — Eric Dunning, University of Leicester. May, £14.80



Freud on Schreber: Psychoanalytic Theory and the Critical Act  
C. Barry Chabot

"No more reading of Freud's 'case study' on paranoia, this significant work cogently argues the necessity of a psychological theory to the interpretive processes of literary criticism. . . . Chabot shows that Freud's theories are directive, not dogmatic, that his interpretive process is holistic and contextual, not determined by, or fixated on, a single dream or trauma or infantile event that must be historically evaluated" — *Choice*. £14.00

The Social Limits of Art  
John Manfredi

Written by a sociologist with an exceptionally wide-ranging knowledge of art history and styles, this major contribution to the sociology of art studies the subtle and complex ways that art, in its various forms, reflects the social conditions in which they are created. Using examples from literature and the visual and performing arts, Manfredi discusses such topics as "Art, Culture, and Professionalism", "Art as a Socially Constrained Pursuit", "Technique, Significant Experience, Abstraction", "The Playing Out of Artistic Style", "The Professionalization of Art", and "Critics, Merchants, Consumers, Bureaucrats". £12.00

The University of Massachusetts Press  
Box 429, Amherst, MA 01004  
Distributed in the United Kingdom by:  
Translantic Books Services Ltd.  
24 Red Lion Street,  
London, England WC1R 4EY

09501550



As it turned out, though, Porter did not write any more political poems, coming to believe that "poetry is better at facing us with death, loss of love or the impermanence of beauty than it is at saying 'accuse to somebody'". "Greece needs liberating but not by me" one of his poems puts it. All he did develop from "Your Attention Please" was a fascination with dramatic monologues, especially ones in which an official speaker solemnly elaborates an absurd case - the professor in "To Start a Controversy" explaining the redundant practice of sex to a gaping future, a consumer report on the product "Life" ("the price is much too high"), death being introduced as guest speaker at the Rotary Club. These poems are abundant in imagination but, being long, don't draw enough on the epigrammatic strengths that Porter was evolving during this period and which showed up best in some of his phrases about sex: "The imaginary marches of the groll", "there is a God in the inviting of a kiss", "while the heart less the search is sex", "Love without sex is / still the most efficient form / of hell known to man".

The last of these is one of three Porter entries in John Gross's new *Oxford Book of Aphorisms*, all of them taken from his "Japanese Jokes". Porter's phrase-making is such that it wouldn't be hard to provide other candidates from other periods of his work: "the twentieth century is darkening like a window", "unhappiness lives on, depression dies early", "There will never be equality until we are all equally loveable", "Nobody feels well after his fortieth birthday / but the convalescence is touched by glory", "we are all children lying awake after the light is put out", and (pure Auden) "A public worthy of its artists would consist of whores and monsters". To a poet, the danger of aphorisms is that they encourage attention to parts rather than the whole, and there are occasions in Porter, who is no great devotee of the well-made poem, when the lines seem not in the wrong place exactly but as though they could as easily be in the next poem as this one. Against this it could be said that even the worst of his poems are certain to contain at least one memorable phrase-making flourish.

"Phrase-making" might sound too deprecatory a term, something to be expected of advertising copywriters, not poets. But then Porter in 1959-67 did make his living as a copywriter and, glad though he evidently was to leave the profession, wouldn't regard it as one automatically deserving of a sneer. Why should he? With him in the offices of C. D. Nottley and Co were Peter Redgrove, Gavin Ewart, William Trevor, Oliver Bernard and Edward Lucie-Smith - as lively a literary community as one could have hoped to find in any of the universities which, in this period, poets are said to have fled to. Porter learnt much from Ewart (later, perhaps, from Redgrove): it is instructive to compare his "Nine O'Clock Thoughts" and "The World of Simon Raven" with

Ewart's "Office Friendships" and "Fiction: the House Party", even if Ewart has the better of these poems about office life and the upper-middle classes. When Porter calls himself "a philosopher of captions", then, we shouldn't take this to be self-deprecating.

The phrase "a philosopher of captions" comes from a poem of that title which typifies the more "difficult" poetry to be found in the second half of the *Collected Poems*:

The knowledge anyway is worth something.

That no person from this liner-browed brain Will reach the height of those grave captains

Whose Danterque walk and Homerice facing

Still flare on our desolate concrete plain So late; that I am a philosopher of captions.

"Liner-browed brain" looks disconcerting at first, but suggests a pun ("lined brow"), which in turn prompts an image and set of analogies: the liner with its decks like a lined brow or layered brain; the captains of ships like the creators of poems; problems of control, development and achievement in art. Though apparently dense and obtuse, the poem proves candid and vulnerable once deciphered: Porter lets slip his sense of inadequacy as a poet and his envy of the more successful ("the shouters, the ones met at stations by crowds"), then consoles himself that their confidence and egotism may be misplaced and that a sense of potential still remains with him, "hovering / In the forehead auditorium of sounds". To say that the poem is typically obscure won't do, then: the feelings behind it, though complex and yielded up later rather than sooner, are accessible and intelligible after all. In "English Subtleties" Porter records how, just as he was threatening to "abjure" poetry, he was delivered by the injunction "Perhaps you should say something / A bit more interesting than what you mean". This is the sort of suggestion to set the English empiricist in one reaching for his vitriol, yet Porter is surely right to suppose that he is a better poet for having moved away from the lucid and literal. Opacity has helped him to be truer to his complex self ("I'll never learn simplicity"). His recent work arises from the recognition, derived in part from his love of music, that to mean what you say it is not always enough to say what you mean.

In this development, the poetry of John Ashbery, which Porter discovered in the early 1970s, has played a crucial part - a part acknowledged in the generous representation of Ashbery in Porter's revision of the *Poems of Modern Verse*. But the leap forward in Porter's work also had its origin in a tragic personal setback: the death of his wife in 1974. Her death not only gave him a "subject", unwelcome though it was, but brought a new maturity to his vision. "All about dying is to be known beforehand", he had written in a brief early poem; but in truth he did not know about death, nor therefore about the tragic

dimension of life, until this private tragedy. The poems written immediately before it, in 1972-74, had spoken of a new composure, of "living in a calm country" which is both England and the resigned middle age of the author. *The Cost of Seriousness* (1978) and *English Subtleties* (1981) leave no room for such unruffled postures: they are "composed" only in the sense of being highly formal, most daringly so in "An Exequy", whose brittle tetrameter couplets prove surprisingly capable of accommodating long sentences and sombre feelings:

No one can say why hearts will break And marriages are all opaque: A map of loss, some poised cards, The living house reduced to shards, The abstract hell of memory, The pointlessness of poetry - These are the instances which tell Of something which I know full well, I owe a death to you - one day The time will come for me to pay When your slim shape from photographs Stands at my door and gently asks If I have any work to do Or will I come to bed with you.

If the themes touched on here - guilt, suffering, retribution, the insufficiency of art - aren't usually expressed so straightforwardly by Porter, this is scarcely surprising. But though we are made to see his feelings through a glass darkly, we can't mistake their meaning. When the poet writes, for example, that "the cost of seriousness will be death", we are in no doubt that he means, in part, that the cost of his seriousness has been her death, that there is something reprehensible as well as inevitable about his dogged pursuit of "talent" - a key Porter word that often comes up in the context of his wife's death ("Why hast thou / held talent above my head / and let me see it, O my God?"). "In the end we are condemned / only for our lack of talent", "the one voice / at midnight reminding me that reparations / are exacted of the talentless". There is even the idea, explicit in "Alcestis and the Poet", of the woman who gives her life to redeem her husband; Alcestis is consoling about her sacrifice - her premature death was "no more than giving up a good position in the queue" - but demanding of the poet's art:

On the moon, they say, we find The things we've sacrificed, pristine And Are cheats. Sited in great art, but fearful Of the creatures that we make little will.

Go to nothing. The wind urges the trees to sigh For us: it is not a small thing to die, But looking back I see only a disappointed man. Casting words upon the page. Was it this I stepped out upon the stairs of death obediently?

Behind marvellous lines like these are feelings so private that it is hardly for an outsider to speak of them at all. Porter, for whom confessional treatment of such emotions would be indecent, prefers to reflect his feelings - through myth, allusion, textual and textual difficulty - so that, paradoxically, they become open to

public scrutiny. The poems of this period are, for example, much preoccupied with art's inadequacy: "words and notes / make little difference", "the out-of-reach-of-art intensity", "my goal / of doing without words, that / pain may be noted some real way". The phrases touch on a general argument about what art cannot do; the more personal burden - that poetry is incapable of expressing what he feels about his wife's death, or of bringing her back - is there, but to put it like that would be for Porter to say only what he meant.

Many who grew up with Porter the satirist find the recent work less pleasurable to read, but anyone coming fresh to the poems would surely have the impression of a poet finding himself late on, after having written some sprightly early poems, then passed through a wayward middle period (heaven knows how George Szirtes in *Poetry Review* can find a Porter *Folio* "perhaps his most dazzling collection"). One symptom of the development is Porter's increased use of the phrase "the gods": God, "beard above all things" is a constant presence, just and indifferent by turns when the gods arrive they bring with them something more playful and fickle, unpredictable and anarchic. Another symptom is Porter's growing fondness for religious images, such as "fire": these can make his poems seem like allegorical paintings, overwhelmed by big ideas and grandiloquent phrases ("the encroaching fire", "the fire of every change", "the coronation of fire"), but then, suddenly, the voice drops to a heart-rending literalism:

A card comes to tell you you should report To have your eyes tested. But your eyes melted in the fire . . .

This is like Tony Harrison's poem on his father's cremation ("I thought how his cold tongue burst into flame / but only literally") and also like Hardy's "The Circular", from the "Poems 1912-13", where the poet opens a letter advertising drapery and millinery addressed to "her who before last year ebbed out / Was costumed in a shroud". Porter has only once expressed an interest in Hardy - in the slight poem "Hardy in Westbourne Park Villas" - and might want to dissociate himself from the parochialism of the recent Hardy revival. But it is difficult not to think of Hardy when reading Porter's poems to his dead wife, with their pain and loss, their afterthoughts and afterwards, their ghostly flittings and hauntings ("She is coming towards me, / looking at me to turn me to stone"). Most Hardy-esque of all are the tolling "nevers" of "The Delegate":

Never to puff up those sloping headlands watching the children ahead negotiating the lanes of the wide bay: never the afternoon sun straining the bedroom light to a tint distinctly like gin . . .

Hardy-esque as he is here, and earlier on, in his liberal scepticism, Porter might have been a candidate for Donald Davie's advocacy in *Thomas*

*Hardy and British Poetry*, but instead received a mild reprimand for his remark that poetry is "a modest art", and then a wider swipe in the poem "St Paul's Revisited", where Davie describes how the yellow gutters of Greek Street and Fleet Street are "Ged from the Antipodes". Porter for his part seems to be satirizing Davie in "The Cost of Seriousness": "Unless you agree / to Pound's huge seriousness I shan't go / on living". The antipathy is a more interesting matter than personal difference: it touches on the continuing problem of placing Porter in a literary culture fragmented between the metropolitan and "the provincial". Some in the provinces have identified Porter as one of the Metropolitan Fox, and if this is a shallow prejudice, based not on Porter's poetry but on his living in London and disliking Leavis, there is also the judgment of the Australian Les A. Murray, who has said that Porter "more than any other poet now writing . . . has the metropolitan tone, at once intellectual and colloquial". Yet John Lucas has claimed, equally persuasively, that Porter "has the provincial's sour relish in attacking the absurdities and vices of the world he comes into . . .". The truth is that, though he has often used them himself about other poets, neither label will serve to describe Porter's work: in this debate he can't be admitted but must remain outside as the man from nowhere who is also his own man.

Now that we have the *Collected Poems*, with a comprehensiveness that might better have been avoided but which one can't finally regret, it's time to change the terms of reference and make amends. There are fifteen or so poems here that should establish Peter Porter as one of our finest poets - among them "Sydney Cove, 1788", "The Sadness of the Creatures", "On First Looking into Chapman's Hesiod", "The Lying Art", "An Exequy", "The Delegate", "English Subtleties", "All the Difference in the World", "Alcestis and the Poet", "Talking to You Afterwards" and "The Werther Level", not to mention the translations of *After Marial* (1972), which deserve a study in themselves, and get it from Alan Brownjohn in *Poetry Review*, "Embarrassment abounds". Porter writes in "A Philosopher of Captions", "That pain is the one immortal gift of our stewardship" - meaning that he feels awkward that the best of his work should be about suffering and loss, and perhaps more importantly that, for all the "garnish" of his pain, but this is a cost of seriousness, and Porter is a serious poet with high ambitions for his "modest art".

"Poetry Australia" for August 1982 (No 84-5; 144pp) is a double issue edited by Grace Perry and including poems by Barry McInerney, Les A. Murray, Rachel McAlpine and Mark O'Connor; the January 1983 number (No 86; 72pp) is a special Tasmanian issue, guest-edited by Vivian Smith. Subscriptions (22 annually) are available from Poetry Australia, Market Place, Berrima, NSW 25377.

## Church and Cabinet

Roy Foster

Donal A. Kerr

Prof. Priests and Politics: Sir Robert Peel's Administration and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, 1801-1846

399pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

£19.82/1891 5

There is a comparative study to be written about the effect of Irish office on the careers of British politicians: those who went native, like Balfour, those who went off the rails, like Foster, those who were tempered in the furnace, like Castlereagh and Balfour. The Chief Secretaryship was often used in the nineteenth century to get out sheep from goats - unlike the Secretaryship of State for Northern Ireland, which nowadays seems to confer the right of future promotion upon even its most disastrous incumbents. One of the few disappointments in Donal Kerr's excellent monograph is the cursory attention paid to Peel's connection with Ireland in his early career: it was important in giving him, at the very least, the lifelong distaste for jobbery which may have alienated his colleagues every bit as much as following Maynooth or repealing the Corn Laws. It also gave him a dislike of the extreme attitudinizing inseparable from Irish confrontations, and prepared the way for his battery of initiatives in the ministry of 1841-6.

Professor Kerr's scholarly and fair-minded evaluation of these indicates as imaginativeness and a determination not always credited to Peel: by relating the government's policy-making to ecclesiastical politics in Ireland, a vital dimension is supplied which has been missing from earlier studies, and what emerges is an important revisionist critique. There is more here, however, than a study of church and state; unlike some other pioneering work on episcopal manoeuvres, Kerr pays close attention to the church at constituency level. He is now technically inaccurate in saying that "there is no comprehensive published study of the Catholic church in Ireland in the decade before the Great Famine", since Gill and Macmillan brought out S. J. Connolly's *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland* two years ago; but as they have made it temporarily "unavailable", the status quo ante prevails. Kerr devotes his first chapter to a broad and informative outline of popular religion, church organization, clerical politics in the early 1840s; most importantly, the literary evidence cited (though produced in rather a cataloguing manner) is in Irish as well as English. (The resulting picture of popular religious practice in some ways modifies Emmet Larkin's influential theory of a "devotional revolution" after the Famine.) At a later point, the social background of the Maynooth priesthood is carefully examined, and appears as more middle-class than generally imagined. The picture of the church in the parishes is amplified by a consideration of O'Connell, still the great enigma of nineteenth-century Irish history; by comparison, Parnell is guilelessly transparent, as he assured Cullen, that Protestants were Protestants only for "political reasons", and after Repeal and disendowment would be painlessly absorbed into the Catholic church?

The O'Connell who emerges here is far more politically formidable and strategically acute than the Young Ireland picture of the 1840s allows. Similarly, Peel's advisors and lieutenants are stronger and better informed than Norman Cash, for instance, has painted them - Elliot floating the idea of an increased Maynooth grant surprisingly early, and Graham generally backing him up. A readiness to countenance the Charitable Bequests Act and seminary endowment should not be over-interpreted; at one stage Graham believed that if Repeal "came to a struggle, we must call on the Protestant Yeomanry in the North and put arms in their hands". But the shifting attitudes between opposition and office, and the existence of a moderate and diplomatic party in the Irish Church, led by Archbishop Murray, opened the way for advance. Murray, the sort of prelate capable of dismissing a zealous colleague as a "pious little fool", is one of the figures painstakingly rehabilitated by Kerr. Another is the emollient Anthony Blake, a Dublin solicitor known as "the backstairs Viceroy", who provided an unofficial link between the Castle, the bishops' palaces, and Whitehall. It is at this juncture that the phrase "Catholicism" became current, but each period of the Union, when analysed by a path-breaking monograph, reveals such a figure: they deserve their own history.

Peel's government attempted to give the Catholic church in Ireland a Charitable Bequests Act, which it claimed fettered its independence, an increased Maynooth grant, which it feared presaged government control of the priesthood, and a university system which it denounced as "godless" rather than non-denominational. Peel's rhetoric of being congenitally hard to please, combined with ultra-Protestant paranoia, concealed attitudes that were often more accommodating than suspected. But the future lay with intransigents like Archbishop MacHale; and the triangle of confusion between the Irish bishops, the Curia, and the Cabinet, complicated by wishful thinking at every corner, described a pattern which was to be traced again in the 1880s (and, indeed, at later periods too).

The measure that came nearest to pleasing all parties was the Maynooth grant; and here there was less involvement from Rome than in other instances, which may not have been coincidental. It was no less a *cause célèbre* for that. In terms of English politics, Maynooth is remembered chiefly for bringing on a bout of abstract Gladstonian agonizing, entertainingly reconstructed by Richard Shannon; but as Kerr reminds us, the issue dominates the columns of *Hansard* in this period. It also, of course, occasioned a backlash in the Conservative Party which prefigured (and made inevitable) the explosion over repeal of the Corn Laws. By then, the Famine was changing the terms of the Irish question, and Peel's policy had run aground over education: an inescapable rock, but one brought nearer to consult Irish opinion. In opposition for the last few years on his life, Peel took his rhetoric further and faster than before, surprising Young Ireland as well as O'Connell. However, though imaginative Tories in future administrations would try to play the conciliation card, the pattern was set: in terms of reference which Professor Kerr has done a great deal to elucidate date.

## Hillside Horse

Flat colour of fences, the changes in the weather reflected under the eyelid of the hillside horse, adjusting around it all the apparatus of its individual equine peculiarity, as it submits to the deepening occult demands of the landscape, peevish, shabby and somehow persisting in mockery.

Penelope Shuttle



## Henry Vaughan

The Unfolding Vision

Jonathan F. S. Post

This study of historical scholarship and intertextual criticism reassesses Vaughan's entire literary career with particular reference to George Herbert's influence. £19.50

## The Man From Porlock

Engagements, 1944-1981

Theodore Weiss

Poet and critic Weiss explores a problem powerful in Lucretius, conspicuous with Shakespeare, and more than ever a concern for the modern writer - the place and price of poetry in a prose-minded world. Cloth, £30.30. Paper, £8.70

## Early American Literature

A Comparatist Perspective

A. Owen Aldridge

Challenging the tendency of scholars of comparative literature to overlook the western hemisphere and of scholars of American literature to neglect the relationship of American writers to the rest of the world, he links serious writing in Anglo-America, Ibero-America, and Europe during the colonial and Federal periods in North America. £19.50

## Paul Valéry's Album de vers Anciens

Suzanne Nash

Questioning the assumption that the *Album de vers Anciens* is not representative of Valéry's mature accomplishment, Suzanne Nash argues that the revisionary process involved in its creation led the poet to reflect on problems fundamental to his lifelong poetic production. £24.70

## Princeton University Press

15a Epsom Road, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3JT. (0483) 68364

## Keats

The Myth of the Hero

Dorothy Van Ghent

Jeffrey Cane Robinson, Editor

This work rescues from oblivion an important manuscript on Keats by a major scholar/critic. At her death, Van Ghent, author of the acclaimed *The English Novel: Form and Function*, left a critical study of Keats' work that reflected, even in its fragmentary form, her lifelong involvement with his life and work. Robinson has revised, reordered, and edited this material. The result is an outstanding contribution to Keats criticism. £21.70

## Radical Shelley

The Philosophical Anarchism

and Utopian Thought of Percy Bysshe Shelley

Michael Scrivener

This study offers a new definition of Shelley's place in English radical culture. Treating the poet's literary career as an active intervention in the social world, Professor Scrivener shows how Shelley designed each text as political provocation. £25.90

## Eugenio Montale's Poetry

A Dream in Reason's Presence

Glauce Cambon

Cambon draws on twenty-five years of commitment to Montale's poetry and prose for this extended critical analysis. £19.50

## Bertolt Brecht in America

James K. Lyon

This colorful account of Brecht's move from Germany to America during the Nazi era explores his activities as a Hollywood writer, a playwright determined to conquer Broadway, a political commentator and activist, a social observer, and an exile in an alien land. Cloth, £20.80

## PACE GALLERY PUBLICATIONS

EXHIBITION CATALOGUES



Philip Larkin  
92pp. Methuen. £1.95  
0 416 32270 0

Come see us at the London Book Fair

April 6-8 in the Conference Book Exhibit Booth, Hall A, Strand 10  
Our representatives will be there to greet you

For more information, contact:

PACE GALLERY PUBLICATIONS  
32 East 57th Street New York 10022 (212) 421-3292

## Modernizing touches

Richard Brown

Andrew Motion

Philip Larkin  
92pp. Methuen. £1.95  
0 416 32270 0

Carloads of isms (and post-isms) nestled the TLS reviewer of the first batch of slim volumes in Methuen's "Contemporary Writers" Series. The isms may well prove the most controversial part of Andrew Motion's study of Philip Larkin, too, for Motion, though he is by no means the slave of an excessively abstract or theoretical approach to his subject, nevertheless takes as his starting-point the idea that Larkin has more isms - more modernism and symbolism to be precise - than has normally been supposed.

Not all of the energies of this short study go towards making his claim. Motion provides a useful biographical outline, concentrating on Larkin's time at Oxford and on the strong directing influence of Kingsley Martin, and he

gives a full and sensitive reading of the two novels of the 1940s, *Jill* and *A Girl in Winter*. But it is for the attempt at redefinition that the study is most likely to be noticed, for it is argued here that Larkin's poems make play with models from Gautier and from Baudelaire, that the Larkin persona is inherited in part from Eliot's "Prufrock" and that, throughout, the poetry is dripping with memories of Yeats. These symbolist or modernist elements are demonstrated in the earlier poems of *The Less Deceived* and, more speculatively, identified in later poems, such as "Livings", "Solar" and the poetic bits in "Versa de Societe" (all in *High Windows*) where, Motion argues, the symbolist drive for transcendence can be divined.

The approach is, of course, an idiosyncratic one because of Larkin's incoherence as leader of the anti-modernist cause, whose views are enshrined in brief but well-known criticisms of "foreign" poetry and modernity - whether perpetrated by Parker, Pound or Picasso. Motion pays due tribute to Larkin as a "reluctant pioneer" of this kind but

calculates that a more novel approach will have its advantages.

There is little risk of restating the obvious and the well-known in this kind of treatment. It serves the purpose of opening the poetry to new kinds of interest, especially to the aggressively new kinds of critical approach now the series as a whole seeks to accommodate. Larkin, with his poetic stance of age and distance, with his artfully curtailed areas of interest and his roots (if not much of the character of his verse) firmly in the 1940s and 1950s, seems almost to need such an accommodation to the up-to-date, and it is, perhaps, out of a fear that his subject may seem old-fashioned beside Pynchon, Vonnegut and Foyle, that Motion writes. But there is an offensive as well as a defensive element in this desire to present Larkin as a synthesizer of modernist and traditionalist inheritances: a healthy refusal to accept that either inheritance must be sacrificed to the claims of the other, and, one senses also, an attempt to lay claim to Larkin as the true ancestor of the current generation of poets with whom Motion is identified.











## to the editor

## 'After Long Silence'

Sir, - In his exemplary review of my book, *After Long Silence* (March 11), Lord Annan cites one "dubious" detail which bears upon my credibility. He notes that I paid a brief visit to London in 1949. He wonders if it could really have been "by chance" that I encountered Guy Burgess, walking down Whitehall.

He need not wonder. I came out of a lengthy conference in the offices of McKenna and Company at 12, Whitehall. I set out in search of a cab with my companion, an American attorney, Burgess happened to pass us on the street. My companion will confirm that he was as surprised as I was by our chance encounter.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT,  
5910 Bradley Boulevard, Bethesda,  
Maryland.

## 'A Matter of Trust'

Sir, - Lord Annan says in his review of Nigel West's *A Matter of Trust* (March 11) that Philip's employment by *The Observer* was "fixed" and that M16 continued to pay him when he was probably organizing an anti-Western network in the Arab countries. This is not quite right. When I employed Philip, I had a categorical promise from the Foreign Office that he was no longer in government employment of any kind. Apparently, this was true at the time they said it but, later, the pro-Philip faction in M16 took him back on to their payroll. After he was revealed to be a double agent, the Foreign Office made an abject apology that their undertaking had not been honoured. Their behaviour to *The Observer* was execrable.

DAVID ASTOR,  
9 Cavendish Avenue, London NW8.

## Freud and Philosophy

Sir, - Perhaps the most famous philosophical criticism of psychoanalytic theory is Sir Karl Popper's claim that different psychological theories can explain behaviour with equal ease, so that Adler's theory, for example, would suffice as well as Freud's to explain any data. This claim has had wide influence, and is echoed, for example, in B. A. Farrel's recent remark that data from Freud's case of the Rat Man "could be explained by an Adlerian theory according to which (as we have seen) he had feelings of inferiority and resentment at the father, not feelings of an Oedipal character".

In a footnote to the introduction to *Philosophical Essays on Freud* I argued, among other things, that this claim was quite unsupported, and that in relation to the actual data of the case it seemed most implausible. Although Kathleen Wilkes (March 11) was kind enough to describe my essay as "admirably clear", she thought this part "doubly unsatisfactory": first because the claim seems "plausible to many", and second because the data will be "differently treated" by different theories - non-Freudian theory needn't be answerable to Freudian data. Since the issues raised by these remarks are of general interest, perhaps some brief comments on them may be in order.

Let me note in passing that Wilkes's remarks are not compelling. A report that many find a claim plausible provides no answer to arguments against it, especially when the point of the argument is that its seeming plausibility is specious. Nor is it in defence of the claim that other theories explain (and so answer equally well to) Freudian data, to say that, after all, these theories need not answer to such data: they must if the claim is to be true. And the idea that other theories need not take psychoanalytic data into account is surely unsatisfactory. The best theory in this as any other area will be that which best accounts for all the

data, Freudian or otherwise, so far as possible.

The point in question can be illustrated briefly, although a cogent argument for it would require detailed consideration of theories and data. Prominent among the data in the case of the Rat Man are a series of thoughts, going back to his childhood, of his father as someone who might have to die or be killed if he was to get gratification. Thus on his first intercourse he thought "This is a glorious feeling! One might do anything for this - murder one's father, for instance." Again, at the age of twelve he had thought that the little girl with whom he was in love might be kinder to him if his father died. And at the age of six - as far back as he could remember - he had wanted to see girls naked, but felt that if he had such wishes, his father might die.

These thoughts seem important, partly because their content (like that of his symptoms) contrasts so vividly with the Rat Man's conviction that he had no feelings of hostility towards his father, who had, indeed, always been his best friend. A theory which attributes to him feelings of inferiority and resentment towards the father, but not Oedipal feelings, seems unable to account for these thoughts or other data with which they are connected. Such non-Oedipal feelings might explain someone's thinking of his father's death or murder; but they would not explain why, as here, the thoughts (and even in childhood) should be linked with the obtaining of sexual gratification. On this important matter the non-Oedipal theory seems to cast no light at all.

It should be no surprise that Popper's claim is not borne out by reflection on these data. For although the claim is a strong and general empirical one, involving actual uses of theory and data, Popper simply made up the quite unrealistic example and applications of theory he gave to illustrate and support it. I hope even followers of Popper would agree that it is better (more scientific) to consider realistic and potentially testing cases than purely imaginary ones. I do not suggest that Popper thought up his example to avoid refutation; but the fact is that while his imaginary case seems to fit his claim immediately and perfectly, real and realistic ones do not. Wilkes too appears to have recourse to imagination, in envisaging other theories in which the data are differently treated, in the sense Wittgenstein had in mind. I am not sure what she means; certainly while Wittgenstein returned repeatedly to Freud, he wasted no time on Adler, but let us be clear that a philosopher can offer no genuine criticism or qualification of the explanatory work of a real theory by claiming either that imaginary theories could do better with data or that other theories could do better with imaginary data.

JAMES HOPKINS,  
Department of Philosophy, King's College, London.

## Women Writers

Sir, - If, as Anthony Burgess says, in his review of W. Warren Wagar's *Terminal Visions* (March 18), the reason for denying Mary Shelley and Doris Lessing the titles of "Shelley" and "Lessing" is the fact that these titles are already owned by ones greater than they, what possible excuse can there be for insisting on first names in cases like Mansfield, Woolf, Gaskell, where no previous incumbents exist? The practice of withholding the title "Eliot" from George Eliot is especially absurd, when she not only preceded T.S., as is illustrious a figure in her own field as he is in his, if not more so, but even has a masculine name.

Cases of a husband and wife (the Shelleys, the Leavises), and of sisters, achieving fame in the same sphere are special. "Bronie" could be confusing, but so too, for that matter, are famous brothers (Nabokov), authors with the same names ("Hudibras" and "Erewhon" Butler), and with homonymous names (Ben Jonson and Dr Johnson). We have devised strategies to avoid confusion in these situations and can do the same for the

former, without adopting a procedure which contrives to imply that women writers are not professionals.

We are quite accustomed to women writers on the Continent being designated by surnames only (Sarraute, Tsvetayeva, Akhmatova). And in the performing arts, especially the dance, the practice goes back for over 200 years (Carmago, Taglioni, Callias, Landowska). Why this provincialism on our part? After all, we have changed our practice for the better over the past 100 years, or does Anthony Burgess really want us to go back to the days of "Miss Austen's exquisite fictions" etc?

NORA CROOK,  
20 Defreville Avenue, Cambridge.

## Book Prices

Sir, - I'm sure many of your readers share my frequent irritation with publishers who place plates or notes at the end of a book's text. So it was with an initial sense of hearty approval that I read C. Thurston Shaw's complaint in a review (February 4) of Francis Van Noten's *The Archaeology of Central Africa* that the line drawings had been reproduced in a block at the end of the book. "Could they not," he asks, "have been printed on the appropriate pages of text at little extra expense?" Muttering a sub-vocal "quite right, too", I then glanced at the price of the book - DM 108 - and took it all back. Indeed, I began to feel some gratitude to the publisher for having made any economies at all, particularly grateful on behalf of the students of African archaeology for whom "the book will be an essential work". They will doubtless want to buy it. Using what for money?

The prices of academic publications are reaching outrageous heights. Of the ninety hard-cover scholarly monographs, memoirs, diaries and biographies reviewed in the issues of the TLS dated February 4, February 25, and March 4 (the issues I happen to have on my desk just now), the average price per volume was £19.55. If one eliminates from the sample books with lavish illustrations, the average price drops to £18.94 per book. Cold comfort, and also an indication that book prices bear a rather tangential relation to production costs.

My complaint, of course, will come as a surprise only to those of your readers wealthy enough to afford without pain books at any price. But I wonder that the contributors to these pages so rarely call publishers to task for some of their more unrestrained pluckings at our purse strings.

Publishers will doubtless argue - with some justification - that at an average sale of 1,300 copies they make little or no profit on scholarly works. But are current pricing policies likely to promote higher sales? Publishers will also complain - again with some justification - that pirate editions and illegal photocopying are reducing what little profit they do realize. But can we really blame the student of African archaeology for making a photocopy of Van Noten's book at, perhaps, 2p per page rather than buying it at almost ten times the cost? The student can, one supposes, make use of a public or university library: if the library to which he has access can be persuaded to purchase the book, after the lengthy process of ordering, shipping, receiving and cataloguing, and if the book is not subsequently stolen, ruined by another reader, or most frustrating of all, checked out by some senior member of the faculty to sit on his shelves gathering dust until the day he retires or dies. Nor, for that matter, are libraries infinitely endowed.

One of the pleasant achievements of modern civilization has been that the ownership of the personal scholarly library has come within the means of the common man. Scholarship has become richer, more varied and more democratic as a result. What a great shame it will be if we now should regress to a world in which the private library becomes again the privilege and preserve of a wealthy elite. What is to be done?

PETER JUST,  
d/H.M. D'Jafar Amin, Jl. Angrek  
No 1, Tolomundu, Bima, NTB,  
Indonesia.

## 'The English Hero'

Sir, - I do apologize to Claude Rawson for carelessly writing in my review (March 4) of *The English Hero, 1660-1800*, that his essay is about the mock-heroic style of Swift's verse, for (as he points out in his letter of March 11) his second paragraph states that Swift hardly ever attempted "the mock-heroic (in the strict sense, which implies mimicry of epic poems)". Perhaps I should have read no further, but duty impelled me to dig my way through the thirty-six remaining pages of his essay.

Being curious to know why I had blundered, I turned to my notes jotted down while reading the essay, and found these: "unrelated to the subject of the collection; still another tedious exercise in Swift explication; self-indulgent in its verbosity". Before writing my review I glanced at the essay again, unfortunately focusing my attention on its title: "The Lofly Stile Decline": Self-apology and the 'Heroic Strain' in Some [sic] of Swift's Poems". Evidently I then tried to relate the essay to the theme of the collection, and slipped into the error of assuming that declining style and heroic strain amounted to the mock-heroic, which of course is not so "in the strict sense".

If Professor Rawson's essay were as succinct and clear as his letter to you, Sir, I might not have misunderstood it. ROBERT HALSBAND,  
c/o Reader Services Department,  
Huntington Library, San Marino,  
California 91108.

## Peter de Mendelssohn

Sir, - S. S. Prawer in his review of the English edition of Thomas Mann's diaries (February 25) referred to the editor of the German edition, Peter de Mendelssohn, whose death, last year, remained, it appears, unreported in this country.

Peter de Mendelssohn was the editor not only of *Die Tagebücher* in eight volumes (publication of the last two is scheduled for 1984) but also the editor of *Die Frankfurter Ausgabe der Gesammelten Werke Thomas Manns* in seventeen volumes, publication of which is to be concluded in the same year.

Considering that Peter de Mendelssohn lived in England for thirty-four years (1935-70), became a British citizen (1941), contributed to the *New Statesman* and was German correspondent of *The Observer*, worked at SHAPE (1944), accompanied the first American units to Berlin in July 1945, reported the Nuremberg trials and was the author of an astonishingly long list of political and literary works (including the monumental *S. Fischer und sein Verlag* and *Der Zauberer*, the first volume of a biography of Thomas Mann), received many high honours in his own country (he regained German nationality in 1970 in which year he settled in Munich) and in France - in view of all this some tribute should be paid to Peter de Mendelssohn on the approach of his seventy-fifth birthday (June 1) which he did not live to see.

HUGH RANK,  
Old Lapscombe, Smithwood  
Common, Cranleigh, Surrey.

## 'The Character of Mind'

Sir, - I fear that Jonathan Lear's review (March 11) of my book *The Character of Mind* will leave his readers with a mistaken impression of what I wrote. He accuses me of dismissing the "social character of the mind" as advocated by Tyler Burge. This is not so: the truth is that I simply did not discuss the issue, since it was not central to the main concerns of the chapter in question. Lear seems here to be making the fallacious inference

from "x does not assert that p" to "x asserts that not p". In point of fact, I am very sympathetic to Burge's arguments and have indeed referred favourably to them in other writings.

Having erroneously attributed this view to me, Lear goes on to suggest that Burge's thesis is not compatible with the thesis of the supervenience of the mental on the physical that I endorsed. This again is not so: if the content of a person's beliefs is allowed to depend upon his social and environmental relations, then the underlying basis of physical facts will naturally be taken to include the person's physical relations to things outside his body. The reason I did not go into this question was just that it was not relevant to the main line of my discussion. (In fact, I have discussed this issue elsewhere too.) Nothing I say in the chapter Lear discusses implies that the mental is supervenient upon exclusively non-relational physical facts; indeed the thesis about belief that I defend implicitly denies such a view.

It seems to me unfortunate that Lear should spend so much of his review criticizing views I did not put forward and do not hold when there was so much else in my book with which he could have legitimately taken issue.

COLIN MCGINN,  
School of Philosophy, University of Southern California, Los Angeles,  
California 90007.

## Nineteenth-Century Poets

Sir, - John Bayley in his review (March 18) of *Tennyson: Interviews and Recollections*, edited by Norman Page, writes: "our two greatest nineteenth-century poets, Tennyson and Browning". This seems untenable, but perhaps those born before the beginning of the century are excluded?

C. H. SISSON,  
Moorfield Cottage, The Hill,  
Langport, Somerset.

## 'Edmund Ironside'

Sir, - Like anyone else I am intrigued by the possible discovery of a lost (or, more accurately, misfiled) play by Shakespeare, and am particularly interested in Elton Stiles's contribution to the *Ironside* debate (Letters, March 18). Dr. Stiles's vocabulary tests seem to me of considerable value in establishing the chronology of the Shakespeare canon, and in this case they demonstrate that, if *Ironside* is by Shakespeare, it must date from about the same time as *I Henry VI*. However, no one who has read the play would think that Shakespeare could have written it much later than that, anyway. Unless such a date for the play can be firmly established on other grounds, the vocabulary link with Shakespeare's early work tells us little about the play's authorship: at all, if the play could be proved to date from 1596, the link with *I Henry VI* would argue against rather than for Shakespeare's authorship.

Moreover, even if we could be certain of the date, *I Henry VI* is itself hardly the firmest of reeds on which to support a claim for Shakespearean authorship, since the *Henry VI* trilogy and *Titus Andronicus* have often been thought to contain the work of other writers. The author(s) of *Ironside* and *Edward III* might well have collaborated with Shakespeare on *Henry VI*. Finally, we know more about the vocabulary of a number of other dramatists from the 1590s and 1600s, we cannot be sure that the statistically significant link between *Ironside* and *Henry VI* is unique, or significantly different from the link between *Sams* and *Dr Ule* can answer them all. Questions, Shakespeareans will be deeply indebted to them - whether or not the answers earn *Ironside* a place in the canon.

GARY TAYLOR,  
The Oxford Shakespeare, 40 Welton Crescent, Oxford.

## RELIGION

## Faith, flour and jam

David Martin

ROBERT DAVIES, A. RAYMOND  
GEORGE AND GORDON RUPP  
(editors)

*A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain* Volume Three  
404pp. Epworth Press. £20.  
0 7162 0387 1

If you want to have some idea of the historical profile of Britain's largest Free Church, then this third volume of the official history of Methodism is indispensable. The chapters on the various branches of Methodism, and on Methodist Missions and the contribution of Methodism to theology and education, are careful and scholarly. Yet for all the distinction of the editors and the scholarship of the contributors, what we have is literally just a historical profile, with the human face of Methodism in the main blacked out.

I make one very clear exception, and that is for N. Allan Birtwhistle's hundred and more pages on Methodist Missions from the heroic efforts of Dr Coke, the founding father, till Methodist Union in 1932. Here, scattered among a great deal of decent human endeavour, are some real dashers of fire. The missionaries went to the West Indies, West Africa, South Africa, India, China and the Pacific, often following in the trail of lay converts, many of whom were soldiers and sailors. The tally of death, danger and disease in West Africa is a Paenache in the history of Christian missions. Wave after wave of missionaries went, knowing that within a few months they (and their wives) would most likely be dead. The story of Thomas Freeman's labours in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Dahomey is of apostolic stature, worthy to stand alongside Coke in the West Indies. From it, in Madras, Mary Batchelor in Madras, and Wesley himself.

If this missionary story is full of human faces much of the rest of the book's history is in a rather limited sense of the word: one damn thing, or (in this context) one redemptive thing, after another. The various pieces are also rather heterogeneous, though that simply reflects the diversification and division of the Methodist movement. Methodism made its principal impact in England, whereas in Scotland it encountered a strong Presbyterian presence, in Wales the rivalry of Calvinistic preaching, especially in the Welsh-speaking areas, and in Ireland a generalized resistance to Protestantism. So the pieces on Scottish, Welsh and Irish Methodism are interesting studies in the sociological conditions which inhibited advance outside England. The schisms of Methodism also make a unified narrative difficult. Some Methodists were Primitive, some Wesleyan, some Independent, some Episcopal (in America), some United, some attached to the Methodist New Connexion, and some simply "Bible Christians". Those very names - new, united, independent, primitive etc. - encapsulate the history of Christian schism. In dealing with all these strands until final unification in 1932, the Wesleyans take the lion's share. But then they always did.

I think the trouble with writing denominational histories is that after the eighteenth century the voluntary events do not participate much in the life of the nation. The evangelical revival itself was an event, and is in large measure related to a major historic shift, from sobriety to enthusiasm and participation, and from churches rooted in nations and localities, to free associations. The very change in terminology from Church and parish to Methodist Society and circuit is symptomatic. But the change once accomplished, the subsequent story of the voluntary association moves historically backstage.

Not altogether, of course, because we can still ask genuinely historical questions. Was Halley right about Methodism saving England from Revolution? Was Morgan Phillips right about the Labour Party owing more to Methodism than to Marx? Did the Liberal Party owe more to the provincial chapels than to the

political exponents of *laissez-faire*, or to political theorists of social liberalism like Hobhouse and T. H. Green? Whence comes the pacifist socialism of the Revd the Lord Soper and Dr Kenneth Green? How could the same religious crucible forge the character of Margaret Thatcher, the oratory of Michael Foot, the liberal internationalism of Arthur Henderson, and the sort of linkages represented by J. Scott Lidgett, Arthur Salter and the Bermondsey ILPT? Was the Nonconformist conscience, and notably that of Hugh Price Hughes, as powerful or beneficial as some thought it? After all, "the Conscience" effectively saw Parnell off the political stage, and probably prolonged the Irish Question. One of the editors of this volume once put the matter of Parnell in a nutshell. He claimed that once, and only once, in English history did politicians open the *Methodist Recorder* in fear and trembling: over Parnell. I would add one more question, which on the surface appears very minor. Granted that statistically unlikely things happen all the time, is it pure accident that the last three Speakers of the House of Commons have been Methodists?

To take that last question first, I suspect that so odd a fact tells us something about Methodism. If Methodism does not operate through events it works as a disintegrative force in culture. Methodists know all about effective speaking: they are past masters in the management of meetings and they have from the start compromised between incompatibles. So they make excellent Speakers. The question about Michael Foot and Margaret Thatcher is more complicated. So far as Mr Foot is concerned, we see the liberality of his father, Isaac Foot, sometime Liberal government minister and Vice-President of the Methodist Conference, reset in the context of radical socialism. So far as Margaret Thatcher is concerned, we see an older *laissez-faire* liberalism submerging the organicist theory of the traditional Conservative. The point is that wherever they go, to right or left, Methodists bring with them liberal presuppositions. Both Mrs Thatcher and Mr Foot have left the Methodist fold, one to become an Anglican, the other to embrace agnosticism. That, too, is very characteristic (and where would the C of E be without ex-dissenters?). What remains in Mr Foot's case is a style of oratory only one step away from local preaching, and what remains in Mrs Thatcher is the stubborn individualism of the Nonconformist shopkeepers of England.

If I may put it epigrammatically, Methodism is not about Acts and Injunctions but about groceries. The Methodist grocer, like the Nonconformist Conscience, is, or was, a byword. Methodism is rooted and grounded not only in "faith alone" but in flour and jam, just as Quakerism is rooted in banks, oats and chocolate. For example, Hartley College, where A. S. Peake, the great biblical exegete of Primitive Methodism, taught, owed almost everything to Sir William Pickles Hartley, and therefore to jam. Equally, a very large proportion of all Methodist chapels are girt about financially with the fortune of the Rank family, and therefore with flour. The munificence of Joseph Rank and of J. Arthur (Lord) Rank has been spread abroad in many directions, but especially to Methodist church buildings. From the limited feeble squeak about the Rank family, but it knows that many a Methodist chapel would never have risen but for flour and jam.

The last and final historical question about Methodism also has to do with grocer's shops. When the historian (or rather the sociologist) asks whatever happened to Methodism, he is asking whatever happened to grocer's shops and to hardworking artisans. That brand of individualism, decency, self-improvement, homespun piety and service, has largely disappeared. If you want to understand it, read the *Methodist autobiography* of Jack Lawton, MP, (Labour), or *Joseph Ashby of Tynes* by preaching. The apothecis of it all was in Sainsbury's or the Co-op but not the proud Edwardian Baroque now in the Rochdale Pioneers' beautifully restored at the instigation

of Sir John Betjeman. Much of the inspiration to build it came from plous pence and from that typical figure, the "big man in Methodism", in this case Sir Robert Perks. Hither the tribes came up: the clerks, the agents, the primary school teachers, the domestic servants from Kensington, unsatisfied by their demure local churches, with memories of fervour at Cliff College, Calver (in Derbyshire), or at Piddletrenthide Methodist chapel, and still wanting their gospel har. Here Mr Meale would make the Grand Organ shake with his own composition "The Storm" and "Miss Mellor, ARAM, would sing "the solo". When the minister came in behind the choir, in all the imposing severity of Geneva bands, two-and-a-half thousand people would stand up to sing, with a machine-gun clatter of push-up seats, as in the cinema. They made a joyful noise unto the Lord: "O for a thousand tongues to sing / My great Redeemer's Praise", to bouncy roudies in E flat, the best kind of poor man's Handel. This was no pappy and nondescript imitation of the debased and God-forsaken Anglican liturgy of today, but what they called "the word come just power". Sometimes it was a pretty long word, too, a quarter of an hour of back-aching Nonconformist crouch in the Long Prayer, and then every eye fixed on the preacher for a forty-minute exegetical feast: the Word of God, "rightly divided". One moment the congregation would break into scattered "Hallelujahs", the next ripple with laughter as the minister despatched the "guzzling vulgarities" of the drink trade to hell, go tearful as he told some homely story, and fall silent and awestruck as they were "washed in the blood of the Lamb".

I have the real history of Methodism, ie the sociology, in front of me now: mementoes of two great preachers: Dr Dinsdale T. Young, OD, and of William Sangster, PhD, both of whom were just one mention in the "official" history. In among the frugal hospital-friendly societies, and all the small insurances of the last generation, is a yellow memento of the Diamond Jubilee of Dr Young in 1936. The last expansion of Methodism was only a decade since, and nobody realized the succession was unsure. Present in the morning were Sir Malcolm Perks, BT, Mr Alfred Hartley, Sir Francis Younghusband, and Mr Arthur Henderson, MP, sometime Labour Foreign Secretary and President of the Disarmament Conference. The address in the afternoon was given by Sir Henry Lunn, MD, of the travel agents. Present at the Great Thanksgiving Meeting on October 14 was David Lloyd George, OM, MP, supported by two Methodist Cabinet Ministers, Runciman and Kingsley Wood. And Miss Mellor again sang the solo in "Hear my prayer".

I should, Nobody foresaw the declines which came to a doleful nadir in the 1960s, or the misbegotten ecumenical enterprises which split "the Connexion" in the lower reaches of the upper echelons, and allowed Methodism to "hang on by a thread". Uncertainty, Methodists were poised between the Protestant dissent of the old Primatives like Professor Kingsley Barrett and a desire to obliterate character and denominational variety in the omnium gatherum. All this you will find in this volume's expert "Postscript" by Rupert Davies, with most of the blood and tears drained out.

I can only regret once more that the real history of Methodism is partly absent, though if one of Methodism's most brilliant historians, Professor Gordon Rupp, had contributed, we would have had the real presence of that real presence, taking my eye from the quotations in J. M. Turner's chapter on pp 316-17. They are from two of Methodism's eminent sons: Norman (Lord) Birkett, QC, and Basil Willey. (Methodists have always prided themselves on their "great men" even when they have drifted away, like Selwyn Lloyd, a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Birkett. There is in them a mixture of proud independence, which keeps up the friendly society payments, drops pomies in the JMA missionary box,

and the Co-operative Hymnbook. Thatcher's grocer's shop in Grantham is closed, and as you go about South Yorkshire, the Potteries and the Deerness Valley, or Bacup and New Mills, or Cornwall, the little corner shops of Salvation are often boarded up, used as warehouses and libraries, or given over to some sect still emitting the ancient evangelical fire. The departure of grocers and artisans is all part of the strange death of Methodist and Liberal England.

A writer in this volume complains, almost plaintively, that sociologists find Methodism more interesting than historians. Quite so, and that is, I repeat, because Methodism is culture moving covertly behind history. Happily, there are some outcrops of "culture" embedded in the book, which allow me to develop one or two further asides. One outcrop is found in the conclusion to the useful chapter on Methodist Theology by William Strawson, which says that Methodist Theology (Wesley apart) is of interest mainly to Methodists. An understandable reason is that Methodist ministers have devoted themselves, in the phraseology of Methodism, to "travelling" on the "Circuit Ministry". But there are several less good reasons. Methodism is a house divided against itself without ever quite knowing it. Methodism has excellent theological colleges, and scholars of the stature of John Newton Flew. But many Methodists have feared the pale cast of thought: Karl Barth in the 1930s, form criticism mid-century, new theology and morality in the 1960s. Methodists have admired and sought education, but suspected high culture, poetry and the human play of intellect. Engineering, like pushpin, is as good or better than poetry. It is significant, I think, that real Methodist social mobility is almost coexistent with the spread of educational opportunity, though not solely due to it. The great universities were immediately post-war, with the children of the Wesleyan public schools at Oxbridge, and the grammar-school boys at Sheffield and Manchester.

Even in architecture, apart from some of the early neo-classical buildings like Wesley's Chapel in City Road, they took up with a kind of pinched Gothic, with more stunted turrets than dreaming spires. But then, of course, they built those houses of God with their own hard-earned cash, in places where muck and brass go together. Since then they have moved, up from Cornwall and the West, down from the North-East, losing fervour and accents en route for Cusdon and Purley. The underlying social schizophrenia, compelling theological and ecclesiological schizophrasia, was to begin in a large industrial village, or Bible Christian hide-out in Brixham, and end in Finchley.

The schizophrenia, and lack of intellectual coherence, has all to do with this ambiguous Alpha and Omega. "Methodism was born in song," says the 1983 *Methodist Hymn Book*. In the heyday of the Methodist People, that meant Huddersfield Choral Society. It meant *Ellah* and *The Messiah* in the Town Hall, with plenty of roast beef from the basses, and Stainer's *Crucifixion* or *From Olivet to Calvary* in the local chapel. But if Methodism was born in song, somewhere along the line many an ex-Methodist ended up in the Bach Choir. Down at the ex-Primitive chapel they worshipped with spoon-taneous Bachelors, or sang Moody and Sankey; round at the ex-Wesleyan and Banchey, with truncated they worshipped with a *Te Deum* Cranner, and even a *Te Deum* (Jackson), ex-UM, ex-PM, ex-WM, tradition themselves on democratic ecumenology, with a touch of lay domineering, but "the Connexion" as a whole could be pretty authoritarian.

The Forward Movement of the late nineteenth century had its own fruitful schizophrenia. It built the Central Hall, and Missions, both for social work and for superlative piety: autobiography of Jack Lawton, MP, (Labour), or *Joseph Ashby of Tynes* by preaching. The apothecis of it all was in Sainsbury's or the Co-op but not the proud Edwardian Baroque now in the Rochdale Pioneers' beautifully restored at the instigation

## NEW TRANSACTION BOOKS ON RELIGION AND SOCIETY

## Politics and the Religious Consciousness in America

George Armstrong Kelly  
The first coherent history of American religious thought and practice within the context of politics.  
Forthcoming (1983)  
0-87855-484-X  
Hardback 338 pp. £25.95

## Religion and Politics Political Anthropology, Volume III

Myron J. Aronoff, editor  
Makes important new contributions to our understanding of the process whereby individuals and groups attribute meanings to the political structures and communities which they create or inherit.  
Forthcoming (1983)  
0-87855-468-9  
Hardback 145 pp. £17.50

## Global Economics and Religion

James Finn, editor  
Focuses on the significance of religion in a complex social and political environment.  
Forthcoming (1983)  
0-87855-477-7  
Hardback 277 pp. £23.50

## Freedom of Religion in America

Henry B. Clark, II, editor  
Perceptive contributions on obligation, religious and political conservatives, and extremes of fundamentalism and individualism.  
1982 0-87855-825-6  
Paperback 143 pp. £5.50

## Catholic High Schools and Minority Students

Andrew M. Greeley  
A pioneering study that focuses the debate over the value of private versus public schools.  
1982 0-87855-482-1  
Hardback 127 pp. £12.95

## In Gods We Trust

New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America  
Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, editors  
"A significant text... that provides a deeper understanding of cults." - *Contemporary Sociology*  
1980 0-87855-748-6  
Paperback 338 pp. £7.95

## Organized Miracles

A study of a contemporary youth communal, fundamentalist organization  
James T. Richardson, Mary W. Stewart, Robert B. Simmonds  
"Carefully researched and theoretically sophisticated collaborative work... A valuable addition to the literature on contemporary religious movements." - *Choice*  
1979 0-87855-284-7  
Hardback 398 pp. £14.95

## ORDER FROM

Holt, Rinehart and Winston  
1 St. Anne's Road,  
East Sussex  
BN21 3UN  
Telephone: 0323 838221  
Telex: 877563 Volmat



and scrubs behind the ears, with social deference and more than a hint of *ressentiment*. The best of the Methodist character is represented by Sir Herbert Butterfield, the fine moral grain of upright Yorkshire stock, and the worst of all is shown in unction, prudence, meanness and plain utility. It is a deep ambivalence, covered with a certain self-satisfaction, caught beautifully by Samuel Butler in his *Notebooks*: "When we sing 'Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth' we mean our God is a great God, and we're no small beer ourselves."

Lord Birkenhead puts it this way:

My mother and father, they were Wesleyan Methodists and I suppose one would say that they were very, very devoted people. I shall always be grateful for my home life and for the chapel life to which they led me. My knowledge of the Authorized Version and the hymns of Wesley and Watts are certainly some of my very greatest possessions, and at the most formative period of my life I

shall never cease to be grateful for the training I had in religious things. Basil Willey also reveals that half-vanished culture, reminding us how utterly irrelevant was Otto's "The Holy" to most Methodist worship:

Respectability, rather than reverence, was what filled the air of the Edwardian pseudo-gothic building, with its walls of new red brick exuding patches of salty white crystals. The hymns, unless the tune happened to be one of our favourites such as "Gospel" or "Wrestling Jacob", were something to be endured, not sung (my father, I noticed, never sang); the Te Deum, when it occurred, was a penance (I knew what my father thought of it because he used to sing, with suppressed vehemence, the last word only — "confounded"); the prayers, especially the "long" prayer, were embarrassing because in their approach to the Almighty the Methodist ministers of those days commonly used a tone of easy

familiarity, as of the leader of a deputation interviewing a trusted but perhaps not too well-informed chief. The sermon was the thing: it was the centre-piece and raison d'être of the whole performance. Upon this I knew that my father's closest and most critical attention would be fixed and upon this I knew that we should have his detailed judgments over the Sunday dinner afterwards.

The right point to end is precisely the Sunday Dinner, which was the real presence of a Methodist eucharist, the sacred elements of roast potatoes, roast beef and Yorkshire pudding, and all of them *good for you*. To Lancashire flour and jam add Yorkshire pudding. If drinking was a major vice, eating was a cardinal virtue.

When I say Methodism has no "history" I mean that it lost contact with "events", except for the furore over the 1902 Education Act and Parnell. Just so did the Church of

England lose contact with events after the Non-Jurors and Dr Sacheverell, declining into a style or styles, into the Trollopean or Oxford Movement scene. Yet what happened in West Africa, South Africa, the West Indies, the Pacific Islands, even in parts of India and China, and above all in the United States, is history of a strangely impressive kind. It is world historical because Methodism initiated the idea of the *movement*. A movement can wither in its birthplace, as several world religions have done, and yet elsewhere create a cultural mode, and even provide some of the defining characteristics of a nation.

Martin Lipsett has argued that the original deposit of Calvinism in America mutated from the Elect to Bostonian Elite. Thereafter the defining characteristic of American culture was provided by Wesley's Arminian, ie universalist, theology. The Kingdom of God in America really spread when Charles Wesley's "For all, for all, my Saviour died" became the

dogma of universal citizenship. Forget the Enlightenment overlay and consider the essential undertow described by Tocqueville. Methodism is a kind of hearty, familiar, fraternal and egalitarian speech, full of the reasons of the heart, and it is in the United States where the cultural deposit of the evangel is to be found, in Chicago (a city more Greek Orthodox and Polish Catholic than Methodist) you can hear the carillon sounding hymns along the grand canyon between the skyscrapers. In Duke, North Carolina, you can hear the carillon sounding hymns from the built on tobacco. Methodism, broadly understood, and much more broadly than any denominational history can encompass, initiated all that is above all, the way Americans speak. "By speech and considerable ill, this utilitarian fervour and pragmatic unctious has been more powerful than Anglicanism, and a great deal more effective than good taste."

## The corporation sole

Peter Hebblethwaite

CHARLES DAHM

Power and Authority in the Catholic Church: Cardinal Cody in Chicago 334pp. University of Notre Dame Press, available in the UK through International Book Distributors. £14.25. 0 268 01536 5

Cardinal John J. Cody, Archbishop of Chicago, died on April 25, 1982. Few cardinals have been so cruelly and mercilessly abused. By dying when he did, Cody narrowly escaped a Federal investigation into allegations that he had diverted up to a million dollars of Church money to a lifelong friend, Mrs Helen Wilson. Cody protested his innocence and attributed the allegations to detractors. On his death-bed he declared: "I forgive them — but God won't." The financial scandal was bad enough. But then a priest-sociologist of the diocese wrote a best-selling novel called *The Cardinal Sin*. Of course the lecherous old goat who appeared in the novel bore no resemblance (said the author) to the actual cardinal of Chicago. But the trial by innuendo continued.

The harassment of Cody is still not over. Now he becomes the first modern cardinal to be studied as an instance of the abuse of power. What makes it all the more telling is that the work is done by a Dominican priest, that he was rewarded with a PhD by the University of Wisconsin for his critical efforts and that the Catholic University of Notre Dame should have published it. Charles Dahm, OP, knows the diocese of Chicago backwards. Unlike the 2,200 diocesan priests, he was not directly dependent on the cardinal for funds or patronage. So he could quietly gather his material, attend meetings, observe inconsistencies between theory and practice, slowly build up his picture of the abuse of authority in the largest diocese of the United States — two and a half million Catholics, half of them black or Hispanic. The book belongs to no known literary genre. It is history, sociology, group dynamics, higher gospel, theology, exposed journalism, psychological analysis and much else besides. It would make a good movie.

However, it should be said that Fr Dahm is not concerned at all with the sexual peccadilloes (if such there were) and only indirectly with the financial scandal. Here the central charge is ecclesiastical tyranny. The case is proved. But is there nothing to be said in Cody's defence? There is a sense in which John J. Cody, son of a fireman from St Louis, was a tragic figure. He exercised authority in the manner in which he had seen his seniors exercising it. He knew no other pattern. The size and wealth of American dioceses means that bishops tend to be more like top executives than pastors. "L'Eglise, c'est moi!" Cody would have said had he talked French. Being American, what he actually said was: "I am the corporation sole." He did everything in the grand style in the end and left him isolated and alone in what he insisted

on calling his "Mansion", vainly trying to fend off attacks by censoring the diocesan paper, the *Chicago Catholic*. Thus Dahm's book is built on a paradox: though Cody is blamed for so much that went wrong, he is at the same time absolved on the grounds that "what happened in Chicago arose out of the logic of the institution and not the peculiarities of the incumbent bishop." That does not, however, mean that Cody's predecessors and successors were or will be trapped in the same "logic of the institution".

For it was Cody's arrival at a time when attitudes were in transition that caused the problem. It was perfectly natural for him to keep a tight and personal control on finance, to close down inner-city parishes without consultation, to set up a four-million-dollar TV station, again without consultation. The trouble was that he was dealing with a generation of priests who had imbibed the slogans of Vatican II about "participation" and "co-responsibility", more important perhaps, they had learned on the streets of Chicago how to organize a city ward or a neighbourhood group. They wanted a share in Cody's authority. They thought the instrument for this was the Senate of Priests, a new body that was soon castrated. Cody continued to treat them like children.

Despite the air of learned objectivity, there are moments when it becomes clear that Dahm has his kinks in Cody. Here is Cody arriving in Chicago in 1965 — he came by train in style, picking up on the way the mayors of New Orleans and Kansas City, his previous dioceses: "Portly and slow-moving, he smiled genially left and right. His heavy jowls seemed episcopal." And in a postscript, Dahm sums up the effects of Cody's stewardship: "The giant bestrode the wreckage of the Chicago Church, and enemies were dispersed." The scores of others had resigned from active ministry, or even had left the Church. "In between," the story is chronicled in fastidious detail.

You might think that enough is enough. But Professor Richard A. Schoenherr, who contributes a foreword, has studied eighty-five dioceses and, we are told, Dahm's general conclusions about Chicago apply to other dioceses as well. Those who say Cody's successor, Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, arrived in Chicago in July to immense acclaim. It was noted that his jowls did not look particularly episcopal, that he carried his own bag at the airport, that he actually walked down Michigan Avenue and talked to people. A new, post-Cody era has dawned.

The latest in Mowbray's *Emerging Church Series* is *The Scandal of Poverty: Priorities for the Emerging Church* by John Atherton (132pp. Oxford: Mowbray, £2.95. 0 264 66825 1). Dr Atherton reports on experiences of poverty in affluent Britain today; attitudes to the poor; individualist, area, and institutional explanations of poverty; responses to poverty; and discusses what the practice of the Church should be in relation to poverty, and human fulfilment.

## The cardinal's contradictions

Ian Ker

Joyce Sugg (Editor)

A Packet of Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence of John Henry Newman

230pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. £16 (paperback, £6.95). 0 19 826442 9

OWEN CHADWICK

Newman

300pp. Oxford University Press. £6.95 (paperback, £1.50). 0 19 275568 X

The monumental edition of *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, of which the twenty-one volumes covering the Catholic period were edited by Charles Stephen Dessain between 1961 and his untimely death in 1976, has still another five volumes to go, as well as a final index volume, before all the thirty-two volumes are complete; it is comparable only to that other great enterprise, the still incomplete *Pilgrim* edition of the Dickens letters. If the same literary acumen cannot be claimed for it, certainly the Newman letters not only enhance his reputation as one of the greatest writers of English prose but also afford a wealth of material for non-literary specialists in various fields.

There are some 20,000 letters extant, from which Joyce Sugg has chosen 155 for her handy little selection (which is not drawn only from the published volumes). Her fresh and interesting introduction makes some excellent and penetrating points. She observes that Newman "was at once very simple and very complex"; and yet at the same time "one is conscious of mystery and ambivalence". She mentions some apparent contradictions in his character, but not the central, fascinating tension in Newman between conservatism and liberalism, a rare balance of deference to tradition and openness to new developments, which achieved a consummate theological expression in the mature Roman Catholic works and the subtlety of which often eluded his contemporary correspondents.

Joyce Sugg says that paradoxically Newman's "humour flourished most when he was in his sixties and when his life was most dreary". It is certainly true that there are some very funny holiday letters in this period, but I am not sure that they are funnier than the letters which belong to the earlier period of his satirical writings, *Loss and Gain*, *Anglican Difficulties* and *The Present Position of Catholics*. Again, it is oddly imprecise to say that Newman found in the Roman Catholic Church "a dogmatic formulation that would satisfy his Christocentric mind". What absorbed the imagination and mind of Newman was the primitive Church of the Fathers: what had become of this early Church where the classic formulations of Christianity had been hammered out? Had it been broken apart into "branches" (as Tractarianism claimed) or was its continuing identity to be found in the Roman Catholic Church in spite of all the obvious differences and dissimilarities? Like all genuine conversions, Newman's was essentially a "recognition" or vision rather than the acceptance or discovery of a theory or argument.

Joyce Sugg does not attempt to answer the problem of the abrasiveness of some of Newman's letters, although she is right to say that he mellowed as the years went by. I think, as others have pointed out, that there is more to it than that. There is no doubt that as a Catholic Newman was more liberal and open than he had been as an Anglican; this was partly the result of experiencing the drawbacks of an authoritarian Church (as opposed to a Church that lacked authority) and partly the result of a new liberating confidence which he enjoyed as a member of a Church sure of its identity and beliefs.

The editor distinguishes eleven separate categories of letters and her selection is on the whole very good and representative. She says that "perhaps the largest group of letters and one of the most interesting is concerned with spiritual advice. This may be true if one takes 'spiritual' in a very wide sense. But if one understands it in a narrow sense, then the reader of Newman's letters is likely to be

disappointed. Just as Newman remains almost totally detached from the social (as apart from political) issues of his day, so the letters are remarkably reticent about prayer and the inner spiritual life. It is as if Newman's famous 'reserve' precluded him from comment on the most secular as well as the most religious of subjects. There is plenty of excellent practical advice, but virtually no 'spiritual direction' in the more specialized sense. Perhaps Newman's explicit disclaimer of any expertise here may apply also to questions of social reform.

There are some very surprising omissions. For example, the last, moving letter Newman wrote from Littlemore to Mrs Bowden should certainly have been included — this traumatic leave-taking is not covered at all. The editor excuses the lack of letters to the colourful Father Faber on the grounds that many of them are dull and on business matters, and that Newman was 'cautious and reserved with Faber because he did not trust him'. But this is not quite true. There are a number of letters to Faber, particularly in 1849 when the London Oratory split off but before the final break, which are neither dull nor cautious: in spite of Newman's increasing exasperation and unease, he can be very funny indeed when writing to Faber. At least one letter from this important episode should have been included.

As an example of the marvellously laconic abruptness with which Newman could write when he wanted, the famous letter to Monsignor Talbot ("Birmingham people have souls") is included, but several other magnificent snubs are missing. One looks in vain for the sombre, stately and superbly ambivalent snub to Cardinal Wiseman which had conveyed a wish from the dying Faber to see Newman:

My dear Lord Cardinal  
I thank your Eminence for the feeling which dictated your Eminence's letter.

I am perfectly aware of the hopelessness in which Fr Faber lies. Your Eminence will be glad to know that Fr Faber has already

been informed by me, not only of my wish to see him, but of the precise time when I hope to have that sad satisfaction.

And surely the pithy letter to Manning ("I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels, when I have active relations with you. In spite of my friendly feelings, this is the judgment of my intellect") should have found a place. It is no less surprising that the splendid letter to Francis Newman on temperance has been omitted: "As to what you tell me of Archbishop Manning, I have heard that some also of our Irish bishops think that too many drink-shops are licensed. As for me, I do not know whether we have too many or too few."

On a very different note, a movingly affectionate and humble letter to W. P. Gordon, showing Newman's extreme shyness, is a little missing gem: "Many is the time I have stood over the fire at breakfast or looked at you at Recreation, hunting for something to talk about. . . . The date is 1849, an important year in Newman's life, and one that is ignored in this collection."

Although these letters I have mentioned are superior to many included (which could easily have made room for them), Joyce Sugg's selection is a good dip into the vast correspondence and provides an attractive and useful introduction to Newman.

Owen Chadwick's slim volume on Newman in the Oxford "Past Masters" series is on the whole balanced and reliable. But the reader who is looking for a masterly essay by a master of the subject will be disappointed.

It must be said that Professor Chadwick's strangely staccato prose does not help. It produces a curiously simplistic effect, at times lapsing into banality. "In 1872 an officious verger turned him out of St Paul's Cathedral, partly because he looked shabby. (It was his 'new' coat but had hung in his cupboard unused for a long time.) He did not mind. It seems odd to devote space to such details when there is apparently no room even to mention the early *Lectures on Justification*, Newman's greatest strictly theological work and an important landmark in ecumenical theology."

That omission is all the more surprising because this study is, if anything, too narrowly religious and theological. The whole Newman does not come across. Chadwick is at pains to emphasize the sad, sensitive, shy and solitary aspects of Newman. But he says practically nothing of the man of action and enormous practicality, who master-minded the Tractarian agitation, founded a university and public school, established a religious order in England and built several churches.

Moreover, the chapter "The Nature of Newman's Mind", which is diffuse and repetitive, completely fails to bring out the extraordinary sense of the

concrete and the obsession with the "real" in Newman. In order to understand the conversion of 1845 (which may not break an underlying continuity but which nevertheless is the pivotal point in Newman's life), one has to bring together the real elements with others, including an imagination unusually alive to analogies as well as a relentless — his former Tractarian allies called it "inexorable" — logic. Chadwick's meagre discussion of the conversion neglects both the "implicit" workings of Newman's mind and also the "first principles" which led him to Catholicism. Nor is the author very helpful about the "explicit" reasons, preferring to leave the reader with his view that the withdrawal to Littlemore, where Newman did not have to "hammer out his opinions under the scrutiny of an intellectual peer", was responsible for an "enclosed" or "solitary outlook" from which he made "strange modern inferences from a study of the Monophysites of the fifth century" and gave way to "rage about a misguided plan to push a bishop into Jerusalem."

The Anglican half of the book is less satisfactory than the Catholic half. There are too many echoes of the distant, forgotten voice of Henri Bremond's *The Mystery of Newman* (which Chadwick calls "almost a classic", while omitting all mention of Wilfrid Ward's *Life*, which still contains some of the most penetrating remarks ever made on the nature of Newman's genius). Newman is barely allowed to speak for himself, and one senses a somewhat stale dependence on past memories of reading rather than the freshness of a firsthand familiarity with the letters and works.

Newman as controversialist seems to embarrass Chadwick, who remarks somewhat archly that an "unregenerate reader may regret the growth in grace" which he professes to observe in the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* — "The controversialist had grown in moral stature." But as a controversialist Newman nearly has a claim to a unique place in English literature. One can hardly begin to understand Newman without paying serious and sustained attention to this work and an important landmark in ecumenical theology.

Professor Chadwick makes some questionable assertions. "His remarkably confident account of Newman's personal prayer life based on actual evidence or just on Bremond's deductions from the sermons? Is 'neither' of Newman's novels even 'good' (not even when compared with other Victorian religious novels)? Was Newman so obviously wasting his time attacking Achilli in the virulently anti-Catholic climate of the time? *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (in eight, not six, volumes) may be 'one of the great English works of moral divinity' but is it really true that Newman 'never wrote better, never more powerfully, never more persuasively'?"

## Jung and the Christian Way

Christopher Bryant

"a fascinating attempt to explore what religion and the work of one psychologist have to say to one another. . . . I recommend it to anyone interested in where the paths of religion and psychology cross"

Rosemary Hartill, BBC Religious Affairs Correspondent. 24-78

## Iulia de Beausobre

Constance Babinington Smith

A Russian Christian in the West. Iulia de Beausobre, wife of Sir Lewis Namier, was a remarkable person in her own right. A refugee from Bolshevik Russia, she did much to enlighten the West about the reality of Communist rule. Her spiritual writings, which introduced many to the treasures of Orthodox Christianity, are unique in their insight and directness. 29-93

## Darton Longman & Todd

88 Lillie Road, London SW6 1UD

## The Christian Experience of God as Trinity

James P Mackey

The long-awaited sequel to *Jesus: The Man and the Myth* more than lives up to its predecessor. Ranging from the patristic period to modern times, it provides a full discussion of all the issues raised by the Trinity, from the perspective that the Trinity is a christological doctrine. A superb book. It also has those touches of personal warmth which are so characteristic of the author. limp £7.50

## The Cost of Authority

Graham Shaw

From the beginning the New Testament has been used to manipulate and control as well as bring freedom. Shaw's book is in the same line as John Robinson's *Honest to God* . . . and it will take the same stick. This kind of book jettisons much but leaves much. John Whale in the *Sunday Times*. limp £9.50

*The Journal of Jewish Studies*, Volume XXXIII Nos 1-2 (1982), is entitled *Essays in Honour of Sigfried Yadin*, edited by Geza Vermes and Jacob Neusner (602pp. Oxford: Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies, £6). It contains forty-six articles arranged in five sections: "Archaeology and Ancient Near East"; "The Bible"; "The Inter-Testamental Period"; "Jewish History in the Hellenistic and Roman Eras"; and "Rabbinic and Medieval Literature and Jewish Thought".



# Demonstrative Persons

Maurice Wiles

JAMES P. MACKAY

The Christian Experience of God as Trinity

310pp. SCM Press. £7.50.  
0 334 01937 0

This book is a sequel to the author's lively *Jesus, the Man and the Myth*, and is written in the same robust and expansive style. James P. Mackay begins by posing the question: is not the doctrine of the Trinity an embarrassment to Christians in their dialogue with secular humanists and in relation to any possible rapprochement with Judaism or Islam? His provocative answer is: not if it is rightly understood. But there, of course, lies the rub. For where is the place of understanding? Professor Mackay has no doubt where our search should begin. The doctrine of the Trinity is a Christological doctrine; it arises directly out of Christian reflection on the divine significance of Jesus. It is to its historical origins, particularly as recorded in scripture and patristic writings, that we need to turn for any appropriate renewal of understanding. It is to a survey of that well-worn path, therefore, that the main body of this book is devoted.

Mackay leads us through this minefield with a courage that seems at times to border on foolhardiness. In an informal, and not always very elegant, style, that coheres rather awkwardly with the precision and formality of much of the subject-matter under discussion, he surveys the most significant New Testament evidence, the patristic controversies and, more briefly, the later development of the doctrine, particularly in Aquinas, Rahner, Barth and Moltmann. The way in which the doctrine has mainly been understood is shrewdly criticized for its aridity and its incoherence. These are old and familiar complaints, and the way in which they are here presented may tempt the specialist to dismiss them as superficial and not demanding serious attention, let alone assent. That, I believe, would be a grave and unwarrantable mistake. Mackay frequently writes in acknowledged dependence on some patristic specialist or other to guide him through the

historical thickets. But though others may be able to describe particular trees more precisely, Mackay seems to me to have a remarkably penetrating insight into the contours of the wood as a whole. It is here that the importance of the book lies.

The primary purport of his discussion of the New Testament is that the use of pre-existence language by the New Testament writers is not intended by any of them (even the fourth evangelist) to indicate the existence of a pre-existent person or "hypostasis" who became Jesus of Nazareth by taking on human nature. I suspect he slightly overstates his case, but only slightly and its main thrust is both valid and important. Similarly he understands the way the Spirit is spoken of as a way of bringing out the status and function of Jesus and at no point (not even with Johannine talk of the Paraclete) implying the existence of a divine person or "hypostasis". If all this is so, and I think he is generally in the right, though the issues are (and no doubt will remain) controversial, what good rise to the changed understanding of later trinitarianism?

Here Mackay stresses the overriding influence of the emanationist approach of so much contemporary Greek thought, with its hierarchical conception of lesser divine hypostases, spanning the gap between the immutable god of Platonic theology and the phenomenal world. This, in Mackay's view, was the dominant motif of all pre-Nicene trinitarian reflection. Arius brought things to a head not because he was more philosophically oriented than his predecessors, but because of his more determined, but inevitably unsuccessful, attempt to do justice to the soteriological significance of Jesus within this framework. The orthodox rejection of the Arian account was justified, but the orthodox did not break free enough from the presuppositions which both sides shared to put forward a viable alternative. By holding on to the idea of the three divine hypostases (which really belong to an emanationist view and not to the New Testament) and raising them to the fully divine realm of eternity, it in practice severed the links of the gospel with history and thereby undermined (unintentionally) the centrality of Jesus for Christian faith. In addition, the attempts to extend the approach begun in terms of Father and Son to a

third person of the Spirit only served to reinforce the unsatisfactory nature of that way of dealing with the problem.

Despite roughnesses in his account, I believe Mackay's understanding of what was involved in trinitarian development is much nearer the mark than traditional orthodox claims that Athanasius and those who followed after him found a religiously and philosophically satisfactory answer to the very real problems for Christian reflection about the godhead, posed by the figure of Jesus and made acute by Arius. But if so, how are we to recover that true understanding of the Trinity to which Mackay aspires? Clearly something much more than refining the sense of the word "person" to avoid tritheistic misunderstanding is called for. The crucial thing for Mackay is that the doctrine be reclaimed from its ahistorical and theoretical setting and firmly linked to history and praxis. Here Mackay has sympathy with Moltmann's work, particularly his emphasis on the suffering of God. But he criticizes Moltmann for regarding the trinitarian character of God's dealings with the world as reflecting a parallel trinitarian history within God himself. We need, Mackay insists, to abandon the well-worn way of trying to draw distinctions between our economic and an immanent trinity. Insistence on a purely economic trinity does not rule out the possibility that there may be some form of self-differentiation within God, but it acknowledges our inability to speak about it. What we can speak of, as the book's title suggests, the Christian experience of God as Trinity.

Here again Mackay's exposition of what is called for seems to me entirely along the right lines. But its execution in his final section of constructive suggestions does not quite live up to the hopes raised by the earlier analysis. The loose structure of the prose, now freed from its anchorage to historical discussion, becomes increasingly apparent and is not helped by importations from phenomenology like "the project towards the world that we are". And this is matched by the looseness of the theological position being outlined – a description not necessarily to be regarded as an adverse criticism of the position. The primary function of doctrine is described as a demonstrative one. It points to those places where we can encounter God in specifically Christian experience. Language of Son and Spirit point particularly to Jesus and to the eucharistic community. In this respect it is claimed to be a far more appropriate response to modern secular humanism than the approach of natural theology or reflections on the "limits" of human experience, for (as Mackay criticizes) such should be to remind us it is in the experienced rather than in abstract reflection that God is to be known. Those two approaches seem to me to be unnecessarily contrasted with one another (as they too often are). In a way that if accepted would involve a very serious weakening of both. But with that reservation Mackay's emphasis on the demonstrative role of trinitarian language seems to me to be valuable.

But can it really be claimed that what we are offered is a recovery of the Christian doctrine of the Trinity? Two features of Mackay's position incline me to give a negative answer. In the first place, as he himself says, the significant point of the doctrine as he expounds it could just as well be made by some form of binitarian doctrine as by a trinitarian one. Secondly, it is questionable whether one can properly speak of a doctrine of the Trinity if one does not believe oneself in a position to speak at all about whatever self-differentiation within God there might be. I would prefer to speak of the task to which the book points as one of finding the most appropriate use of the traditional trinitarian symbols. Perhaps there is no substantial difference between those two descriptions, but the latter would better indicate the measure and the character of the discontinuity with the main tradition which Mackay's proposals involve. I believe that the direction which Mackay indicates is indeed the direction in which trinitarian thought needs to be developed and I hope the book will encourage others to pursue it further.

# Higher than high

Stewart R. Sutherland

JOHN MACQUARRIE

In Search of Humanity: A Theological and Philosophical Approach

280pp. SCM Press. £8.50.  
0 334 00688 0

To have been young, and then to grow older, and finally to die, is a very mediocre form of human existence; this merit belongs to every animal.

If men had forgotten what it means to exist religiously, they had doubtless also forgotten what it means to exist as human beings; this must therefore be set forth.

These two remarks from Kierkegaard set the scale of the task which faces the Christian theologian. On the one hand the roots and justification of the claim that there is a metaphysical distinctiveness about human beings must be subject to continuing scrutiny and reassessment lest it degenerate into religiously into the anthropocentrism that will man the measure of all things. On the other hand, if our Christian teaching does point towards what is true then it will carry implications for what has variously been called our doctrine of man, or our anthropology. If, to use Kierkegaard's terms, it is possible "to exist religiously", then this will profoundly affect our understanding of what it is "to exist as human beings".

In more theologically self-confident times, some would have accepted this as the cue to elaborate, under the heading "The Doctrine of Man", the accumulated wisdom of the tradition or the denomination on the subject of human beings. This has been less true of the Anglican tradition than some others, and the tentative and partly empirical approach which has persisted there is in many ways more suited to the exploratory mood of theological enquiry as it is practised today. John Macquarrie offers us an excellent example of such a theological enquiry in a book whose character shows itself in the title *In Search of Humanity*. The theologian is here participant in the seminar rather than preacher in academic robe.

None the less, in these days, one must quickly add that Professor Macquarrie's theology in this book brings a distinctive voice to the seminar. There is no slide towards a reductionist view of man; nor is there evidence of amateur sociology replacing theological reflection. At its best the book is an exploration of ideas in theological and philosophical, schooled by insights won by the professionals in the fields of the biological and social sciences.

At first glance the table of contents suggests a series of essays clustered on the theme of human nature – freedom, egoity, cognition, language, conscience, belief, love, death, hope etc. This is deceptive, for these themes and as many again are embedded in a structure of argument and a method of enquiry which are firm without being obtrusive. Macquarrie exemplifies admirably the opening remark of his preface: "the best approach to many of the problems of theology and philosophy is through the study of our humanity". The structure of the argument is quite crucial and the key is to be found in the respective titles of the first and last chapters, "Becoming" and "Being". Humanity is something which in one sense we all have, and in another, something towards which we may aspire. Our nature is both what we are and what we might become. Hence we must start with "Becoming", for that is the basis for understanding what our "Being" is. Read in this light, the treatment of each theme is partly a report, empirically based, but partly Macquarrie's own response to the question of what we might be.

Macquarrie has no illusions about our capacity to use and misuse our nature. Our "embodiedness", for example, can be a source of strength or weakness; we can "make love", or we can merely copulate. "Belief" gives form to our lives but "history is full of examples of people and even whole nations who were destroyed by false and sometimes cruel beliefs". The possibilities of weakness and sickness,

however, are not permitted to obscure the possibilities of strength and health.

Of course the dangers or risks are even greater if we deal with theological dimensions of human life, or if we raise or how human nature shows intimations of what transcends the limits of empirical investigation. This is the very heart of the search upon which Macquarrie is engaged. His insistence throughout is that the methods and conclusions of empiricism are important but limited. Genuine empirical investigation, which is a method and not an ideology, will tell us much that is true about our humanity but it will not tell us the whole truth. Macquarrie points out that a whole battery of prima-facie secular as well as religious philosophies (Nietzsche, Sartre, Marx, as well as Lonergan and Marcel) argue the importance of the "idea of transcendence", as applied to the human being. On the one hand this emphasis is not an affirmation based solely in empirical enquiry in any one of these cases, and on the other it is, Macquarrie claims, compatible with Christian teaching about a transcendent God.

If I do have some reservations about this important book, they are more apparent here. Macquarrie's great facility with ideas and the history of ideas has a bewitching effect on the reader. The tone and style is so calm and reasonable that one almost wonders why this is an area of such explosive disagreement. It is not that the case for the opposition is left unstated. Quite to the contrary: one reads here of Marcuse, Sartre, Bloch, Freud, Nietzsche, quite as often as Schielemacher, Otto and Thomas Aquinas. Rather the tension and profundity of the disagreements seem to have been massaged into fluidity by a prose whose very dexterity manipulates us into acquiescence and intellectual passivity. Thus too easily may we be persuaded to overlook the question which Sartre and Marx might have pressed in response to Macquarrie's expositions of their thought; too quickly might we forget the fact that Nietzsche would refuse to accept the conclusions of this particular search for humanity.

In all reasonableness the author might reply that he never fails to state where the disagreements lie, and that competence in exposition and fluent prose hardly constitute severe criticisms. Undoubtedly so, and I must give at least one specific example of where the reader might unwittingly fail to appreciate the complexity of what is at stake. In his interesting appeal to the philosophers whom I have already mentioned, all of whom "are agreed on the importance of transcendence", Macquarrie raises the question of whether all this is compatible with the idea of the transcendence of God. Within three pages he summarizes quite brilliantly a number of themes more recent theology which suggest that it might be possible to see God as the transcendent reality "as the god of human transcendence". This is the basis of his claim that there is a contradiction in believing that God is both transcendent and immanent. However, the firmness of this assertion is not matched by firmness of supporting argument.

In one book there can only be limited achievement, and the demands of a reviewer are often unreasonable. My demand, however, is not for a summa in each chapter, but for a greater turbulence in the prose and less of the exposition. Only thus will the reader be aware that at points he has left the calmer waters of scholarly exposition to shoot the rapids of philosophical analysis.

The book ends with the outline of what John Macquarrie calls "the anthropological argument for the existence of God". Here the author is at his cumulative, scholarly and systematic best, condensing into a few pages the outline of a natural theology for the twentieth century. The clarity of his remarks will not, I hope, hide the fact that "the only valid procedure for forming such a concept [of God] is by treating the universal properties of created things – in this case the human being, the highest known created thing – as inferior forms of that which is supremely excellent form; contemplating the divine nature" [my italics].

# In the corridors of the Kremlin

Archie Brown

ROY MEDVEDEV

Translated by Brian Pearce  
200pp. Oxford: Blackwell. £9.50.  
0 191 2993 6

GEORGE W. BRESLAUER

Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders: Building Authority in Soviet Politics  
310pp. Allen and Unwin. £14.95  
(hardback, £6.95).  
0 04 32004 X

JOHN LÖWENHARDT

The Soviet Politburo  
Translated by Dymphna Clark  
120pp. Edinburgh: Canongate. £7.95.  
0 51 01017 7

Decision Making in Soviet Politics

200pp. Macmillan. £15.  
0 333 32281 9

FRANK GUSTAFSON

Inform in Soviet Politics: Lessons of recent policies on land and water  
107pp. Cambridge University Press.  
0 521 23377 1

RONALD AMANN and JULIAN COOPER (Editors)

Industrial Innovation in the Soviet Union  
100pp. Yale University Press. £30.  
0 30 02729 9

At first glance the Soviet system looks complicated. There are so many bureaucratic hierarchies, so many party and state institutions with overlapping responsibilities. At second glance (or, perhaps more precisely, after a year or so's study) it begins to look simple. Just as Bagehot distinguished the "efficient" from the "dignified" parts of "The English Constitution", so it becomes very easy to distinguish "efficient" party institutions from "dignified" soviet, the power of the Politburo from the more formal authority of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet or (if it is to earn a mention at all) the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

What the second look takes in is not entirely an optical illusion. The Politburo is the most powerful political institution within the Soviet Union. At every level of the Soviet hierarchy party institutions enjoy a superior authority to state institutions and it is the former which must sanction new policy departures. Departments of the Central Committee apparatus wield great *de facto* power within the system and, generally speaking (though with some significant exceptions), a minister is less powerful than the head of the Central Committee department within whose purview his ministry comes.

Yet a still closer look at the Soviet system shows that ministries also wield substantial day-to-day powers, and it is clear that the Presidium of the Council of Ministers takes a number of significant economic decisions of an administrative nature, even if the ultimate court of appeal remains the Politburo. More prolonged scrutiny also shows that the distribution of power between various party and governmental organs has varied considerably over time, that at any given moment the degree of diffusion of influence over policy varies markedly from one policy area to another, and that no two General Secretaries have adopted the same leadership style or achieved precisely the same power relationship vis-à-vis the Politburo.

Indeed, the relationship has also changed within each incumbency. While Stalin, Khrushchev and Brezhnev all differed greatly from each other, the powers they wielded in the earliest years of their leadership, in cases in point is the *Boi-shaya sovetkaya entriya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia) – Volume 24, published in 1976 – which accords Stalin 34 columns and tries to effect a compromise between the views of those who held him in high esteem and those who regarded him as a disaster. In contrast, in Volume 26 (published two years later) of the same major Soviet encyclopedia, the picture of Khrushchev is

Yury Andropov, in turn, has already adopted a leadership style which distinguishes him from his predecessors. One feature of it has been the publication in *Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers of weekly commentaries on what has been

discussed in the Politburo. These are obviously very selective, but the publication of even a part of the Politburo agenda within two days of the meeting is something new. While the Andropov leadership's strong emphasis on the need for greater discipline within Soviet society may seem more like an echo of the Stalin era, and one welcomed as such by those who are nostalgic for those years (or, at least, for what their selective memory calls to mind of them), there is no reason to suppose that Andropov shares their nostalgia.

One question which may well be reopened, now that there is no longer a single member of the Politburo which deposed Khrushchev in October 1964 still in office, is that of the place

Khrushchev is accorded a mere 3½ column inches in which to the bare outlines of his career is appended only one evaluative sentence. The judgement is laconic and exclusively negative: "Manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism had a place in his work."

Roy Medvedev, whose numerous other translated writings include two volumes which document many of the atrocities of the Stalin era, is not prepared to accept such a one-sided verdict in his new biography, *Khrushchev*. For Medvedev, the evil for which Stalin was responsible clearly outweighed any possible good he might have done. It is Khrushchev – not Stalin – who needs a "balanced" biography, one in which the extent to

did was just this – that they were able to get rid of me simply by voting, whereas Stalin would have had them all arrested.

Probably the most important part of the new material which Medvedev makes available is the substance of the indictment read out by Mikhail Suslov to the Central Committee session which removed Khrushchev from his posts. Suslov, who (along with Aleksandr Shelepin) was, Medvedev tells us, the prime mover in the organization of Khrushchev's dismissal, apparently brought fifteen charges against him which are listed by Medvedev and acknowledged by him to contain, in virtually every case, some truth, even if not the whole truth. Yet, understandably, Medvedev is

further evidence to support this last point the way Brezhnev and the Soviet mass media reacted to Kossygin's resignation and to his subsequent death. Though Kossygin died on December 18, 1980, his *Pravda* obituary did not appear until December 21 and the big front-page story for *Pravda* on December 19 was that this was Brezhnev's seventy-fourth birthday.

The main problem, however, with Breslauer's book is that while particular areas of policy can be studied in isolation from others, one cannot on that basis go on to generalize meaningfully about how a General Secretary builds up his power and authority. Breslauer quite explicitly concentrates on "some of the central issues of Soviet domestic politics" and leaves out of account the General Secretary's role in dealing with other Communist countries, with Western states and with the outside world generally. This is a strange procedure when one is dealing with the authority of a leader of a superpower.

Would anyone attempt to discuss the rise and fall of former President Jimmy Carter's authority without considering the impact on it of the Camp David accords, of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and of the Iranian crisis and the holding of American diplomats hostage in Tehran? Hardly. Yet foreign policy bulks still larger in the Soviet than in the American public mind. The extent to which the Second World War was fought on Soviet soil (and the scale of Soviet losses in that war) is sufficient in itself to explain such a preoccupation, even though it is not the whole of the explanation.

Khrushchev's relations with Western and Third World leaders, the crises in Hungary and Poland in 1956, the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 and even the Soviet leader's shoe-banging interruption of Harold Macmillan at the United Nations all need to be fitted into an analysis of the ups and downs of Khrushchev's authority. The extent, moreover, to which he devoted himself to foreign policy and to visits abroad ultimately put more power than he could have wished (including the power to remove him) in the hands of those he left minding the shop.

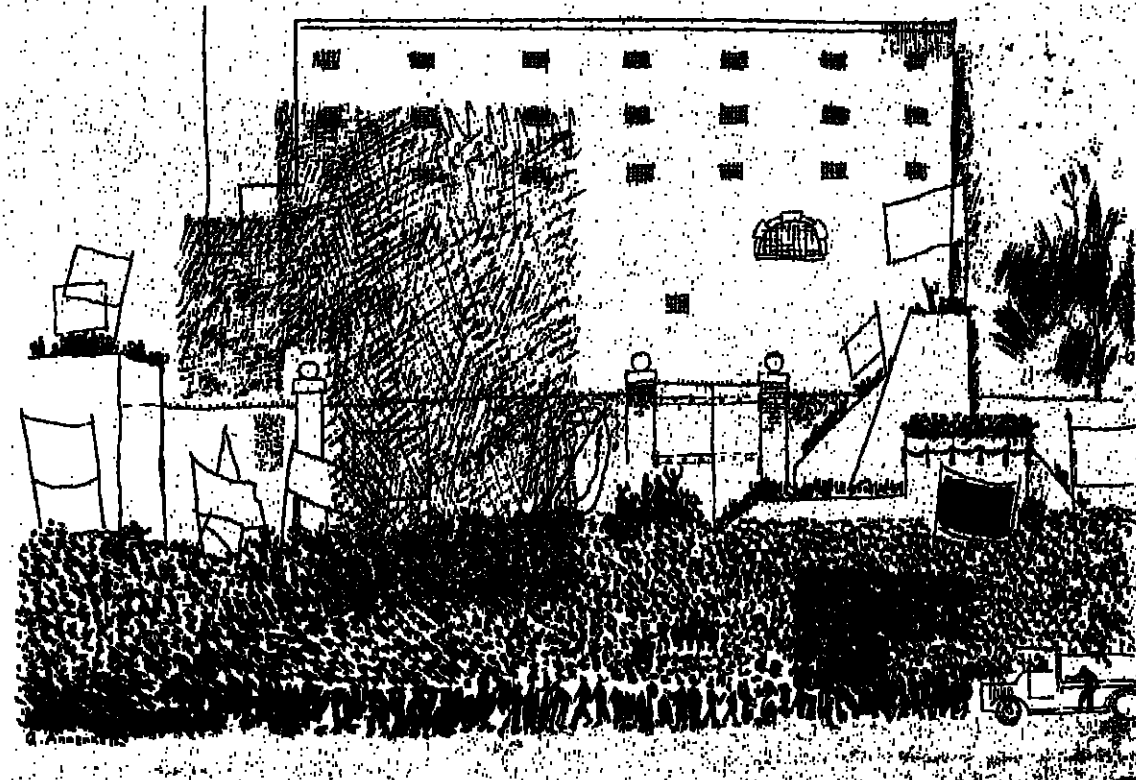
For Brezhnev, the impact of events abroad on his domestic authority was, on the whole, a positive one. As he puts it, Khrushchev certainly did not regard his task as the annihilation of the political system that had been erected by his predecessor; on the contrary, he exploited its authoritarian structure to the full, in order both to consolidate his own power and to implement a number of political and economic reforms. Nevertheless, he did modify the system substantially and destroyed not only the Stalin cult but also the myth of an infallibility of the Party and its leaders. His tireless activity confirmed that it was possible to change Soviet society from the top, given support from below.

Khrushchev's failures Medvedev attributes, above all, to his "haste and impatience" as well as to "the corrosive effects of absolute power and adulation".

George W. Breslauer has written a very different kind of book. His research takes in almost the whole of Brezhnev's General Secretaryship as well as Khrushchev's and he has set out to make a contribution to political science rather than to write biography. Defining authority as "legitimized power", Breslauer attempts – in *Khrushchev and Brezhnev as Leaders* – to analyse and compare the ways in which each leader built up his authority and to examine the links between their "authority-building strategy" and domestic policy.

Breslauer's book is quite effective in illuminating some of the "areas of debate" in domestic policy-making, mainly through reading between the lines of leaders' speeches, and he has interesting observations to make not only on the different political styles of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, but on the policy differences and relative coolness between Brezhnev and Kossygin. He might usefully have employed as

Even the dilution and virtual abandonment of the Kossygin economic reform of 1965, which (as Breslauer rightly notes) took place particularly in 1968 and 1969, cannot be adequately understood without reference to events in Czechoslovakia. The fact that economic reform in Czechoslovakia, a more radical version of the type of reform which Kossygin had been seeking, was accompanied by drastic and, from a Soviet standpoint, dangerous political change in that country undermined the position of those in the Soviet Union who wanted to make even modest steps in the direction of economic decentralization and greater use of the market. The lesson drawn (rightly or wrongly) was that there was a logical connection between that kind of economic reform and the undermining of the "leading role" of the party. Such a perception also strengthened Brezhnev's authority vis-à-vis that of Kossygin. By devoting only two out of 292 pages of his text to "the international context" Breslauer unfortunately misses this and other relevant points which follow from the Soviet Union's superpower status and role, without consideration of which a truly convincing analysis of



"The Storming of the Winter Palace" (1919-20) by Yuri Annenkov. This illustration, reproduced by courtesy of Fischer Fine Art, is included in *All the Empty Palaces: The Merchant Patrons of Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Russia* by Beverly Whitney Keen (342pp. Barrie and Jenkins 0 09 147980 0).

Khrushchev is to be accorded in official Soviet history. Indeed, a step towards his official rehabilitation (even if it is unlikely to go beyond qualified approval) would appear already to have been taken. In the first issue of 1983 of the journal of the party's Central Committee, *Kommunist*, General D. Lelyushenko provides a more than usually objective account of the battle of Stalingrad (though he finishes up by drawing the lesson that the Soviet Union must strengthen its military preparedness in the present "uneasy international atmosphere"). In this article, "Victory on the Volga", he not only refers several times to Stalin, but on four occasions to Khrushchev. Though there is no elaboration of the part played by Khrushchev, the way in which he is named as one of the leading figures – he was a political officer with the rank of Lieutenant General – on the Stalingrad front and by clear implication, therefore, someone who should share in the credit for the historic victory of the Soviet forces in that battle. (The same *Kommunist* article provides an at least equally rare, though passing, mention of Georgy Malenkov, who was Khrushchev's main rival for the Soviet leadership in the immediate post-Stalin years.)

Under Brezhnev, Khrushchev's memory fared worse than Stalin's. Stalin was rarely mentioned, but official assessments of him attempted to preserve a balance between "positive" and "negative" features of his leadership. In cases in point is the *Boi-shaya sovetkaya entriya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia) – Volume 24, published in 1976 – which accords Stalin 34 columns and tries to effect a compromise between the views of those who held him in high esteem and those who regarded him as a disaster. In contrast, in Volume 26 (published two years later) of the same major Soviet encyclopedia, the picture of Khrushchev is

Yury Andropov, in turn, has already adopted a leadership style which distinguishes him from his predecessors. One feature of it has been the publication in *Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers of weekly commentaries on what has been

# Devoutly divided

Douglas Hetherington

ERIC GALLAGHER and STANLEY WORRALL

Christians in Ulster 1968-1980  
241pp. Oxford University Press. £10.  
0 19 21337 7

The conflict in Northern Ireland has particular causes which are not discoverable in the experience of other civilized states, and there is much evidence to show that it is not one in which two sides – both devoutly Christian but of different denominations, fight for religious reasons. Indeed, on the principle of a united Ireland the Churches stand with the rest of the country's institutions; they are organized on a national basis and recognize no border or partition in their structure and activities.

In Northern Ireland, as Eric Gallagher and Stanley Worrall, both distinguished Methodists, demonstrate

with detail in their prologue to *Christians in Ulster 1968-1980*, ecumenism made more progress in the early 1960s than elsewhere and intensified its efforts as growing tragedy overtook two communities still as acutely separated politically as they are religiously. The leaders of the various Churches – except only the Revd Ian Paisley – have responded as best they could. Their failure to bring about peace, or at least to abate violence, has lessons for Churches everywhere where there is a Church to stand on political issues if to mediate is to be "two-faced".

Were Ireland to find peace, it would be possible to say how much the Churches had helped in its attainment. In particular instances the clergy have, individually and collectively, acted, as the authors show, with courage and compassion and had some success. But most of the time sectarianism prevails. The Christian solution, the ministry of reconciliation, has not worked in a devout country. "The Churches in Northern Ireland are themselves part of the problem. Put crudely, they have to save themselves before they can save society."

THE SACRED KNOWLEDGE

Shah Waliullah of Delhi  
Translated by  
Professor G N Jalbani  
and D L Pandit

This important and lucid work delineates the processes of mysticism. Written in the eighteenth century, this book has been regarded by Sufi exponents of East and West as of paramount importance since its publication.  
Hardback 27

ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY

Professor M Saad Sheikh  
Foreword by  
Professor M M Sharif

The first English publication of this standard text, which in relatively small compass covers the main schools of Islam and their rise and development.  
Hardback 28



OCTAGON PRESS

14 Baker St. London W1M 1DA Tel. 089 286 2045



"authority-building" by Soviet top leaders cannot be achieved.

The two books by John Löwenhardt are each good examples of their kind. No claim is made by the author that any significantly new information about the top collective Soviet decision-making body is to be found in *The Soviet Politburo*. What he rightly claims to have done is to bring together the quite considerable amount of information about the origins, workings and membership of that body which has hitherto remained scattered. This is a well-translated and also updated version of a book previously published in Dutch. It will be found useful by students but should also interest a wider readership.

Löwenhardt again displays his talent for synthesis in his *Decision Making in Soviet Politics*, but here additionally he includes some of his own research in Soviet sources. He presents ten case-studies of the making of policy in the Soviet Union, nine of them consisting mainly of summaries of work conducted by others on issues ranging from family law reform and the introduction of governmental responsibility to prevention of pollution of lakes and rivers and the decision to allow substantial Jewish emigration. On this basis, he is able to form some useful generalizations and hypotheses about Soviet policy-making which he proceeds to test in a substantial case-study of his own, the reorganization of the USSR Academy of Sciences - an issue which was hotly disputed from the time it was mooted in 1954 until its implementation in 1961.

What Löwenhardt shows is that in most areas of policy the initial moves to get an item placed on the political agenda in the broad sense (and ultimately, and more specifically, on the Politburo agenda, if the decision involved is deemed important enough by the party leadership) come from outside the ranks of the leadership - often from specialists or from "policy consultants" (or from what I would prefer to call, using a term which Hugh Fricke has applied in the study of American politics, "issue networks"). Löwenhardt also introduces the useful notion of "political entrepreneurship" to describe the kind of individual within the Soviet system who has the enterprise and determination to initiate issues and to try to get them recognized as problems requiring new solutions by those in positions of political authority.

It is quite clear that those who work within the system in the Soviet Union by definition work within certain limits. What is not always so fully appreciated is that policies change and the limits of the permissible change as a result of the initiatives of individuals and the advocacy of opinion groupings within the networks of specialists without whose help the top party and government leadership would scarcely be in a position to govern. The power of the highest party organs and the controls exercised by party bodies more generally are fundamental features of Soviet reality, but so, interestingly, is influence from below.

It can, of course, be argued that the political leadership in every system requires its specialists "on top" and that so long as the latter are not "on top" nothing much is necessarily signified. In the Soviet case, however, there is a vast difference between the kind of specialists whom Stalin relied on - who were frequently exiles, often more Stalinist than Stalin and who, each in their own speciality, suppressed all heterodox thought - and those who have been coming to the fore in the post-Stalin period. Though the arch-charlatan, Trofim Lysenko, succeeded in pulling the wool over the eyes of Khrushchev as well as of Stalin and did not lose his enormous influence until after Khrushchev's removal, and though in some of the more "ideological" areas Stalin appointees are to this day of serious argument now takes place among Soviet specialists within virtually every discipline and much of it is published in academic journals and books, with the debate at times spilling over into newspapers.

Further useful evidence of this is provided in Thane Gustafson's *Reform in Soviet Politics: Lessons of recent policies on land and water*. Gustafson's own research concentrates on Soviet agricultural and conservation policy, but, like Löwenhardt, he is interested in the broader question of how policy is

made in the Soviet Union and, not least, in how issues get on to the political agenda. If it is careful not to play down the control over access to positions of influence and over what can be published which the party leadership possesses. But he notes the "evidence from many different fields that the scope and quality of specialists' advice to policy makers... have increased" and observes how new ideas and new fields of study gradually catch on in the Soviet Union.

Not only influence from below but inertia on the part of subordinate institutions and officials means that the party leadership's control over Soviet society is not as total as some of those who view the Soviet Union as totalitarian are inclined to imagine. Gustafson points out that while "the power of the party leaders to make key decisions" is unquestioned, the success of the programmes they sponsor depends upon a host of smaller decisions and, indeed, non-decisions. In the process of which policies may be not only adjusted and refined but also diverted, obstructed and eroded.

Bureaucratic inertia appears, too, as one of the themes of the impressively thorough study of *Industrial Innovation in the Soviet Union* conducted by a team of scholars based mainly in Birmingham University, whose findings are edited by Ronald Amann and Julian Cooper. Amann and Cooper themselves are the authors of important chapters and their strong team of contributors includes David Holloway on innovation in the defence sector. Even in that privileged and

relatively successful sector of the Soviet economy, Holloway finds some reluctance to innovate within "a bureaucratic structure which requires a major effort from the top to point the executives in a new direction and which, once directed on a particular course, shows considerable inertia".

In the economy as a whole, Amann suggests, a major source of conservatism "lies in the central decision-making process itself". As he put it:

Because the basic production units of the economy have neither the power nor, in many cases, the inclination to make major innovation decisions, the full weight of responsibility rests on the shoulders of industrial ministries and the central planning agencies. But the latter are several stages removed from the detailed requirements of their subordinate enterprises; moreover, there must inevitably be a gulf between the huge mass of innovation opportunities... and the inherent incapacity of the centre to acquaint itself with these opportunities let alone to subject them to critical evaluation. Delays, indecisiveness, "long and fruitless discussions", buck-passing and mistaken decisions are often the result.

If the ministries and planning agencies mentioned by Amann have, indeed, great power (though inadequate information), the highest party organs possess still greater powers and authority. The capacity of

General Secretaries to give a lead and the powers of the Politburo collectively are enormous. They seem especially great in comparison with the highest executive organs in the other superpower, where the President and his Cabinet secretaries can be thwarted by Congress, by the Supreme Court, by the press, and ultimately, by the electorate. No General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party is likely to have sleepless nights over the prospect of being criticized or frustrated by the corresponding bodies in the USSR. But constraints on the General Secretary personally there certainly are in the post-Stalin era, even though he has considerably more political resources at his disposal than anyone else in the country. And though the Politburo collectively can set Soviet policies on a different course, the extent to which it embodies different institutional interests (in a process of mutual accommodation which in Brezhnev's time, unlike Khrushchev's, became sufficiently cosy for some observers to describe the Soviet system as "corporatist") means that radical policy innovation occurs less often in practice than it might be expected to occur in principle.

Now that economic difficulties have come to be perceived within the Soviet Union as much more serious than in earlier decades when there was, at least, relatively rapid growth, the question of how fresh ideas get a hearing and a chance of implementation within the system has become a more pointed one for the Soviet political establishment as well as

for foreign scholars. While specialists exert an increasing influence in many areas of policy and different views contend within the various issue networks, on the central issue of economic reform there has been a lot of talk but little action. One major way in which change can come about is when a new General Secretary makes use of his authority (even though that is subject to constraints) to bring about changes in the composition of the Politburo and Secretariat and within the ministerial network. The balance of power between individuals and between institutions is not fixed for all time and changes within the leadership have the potential to bring about significant changes with different ideas are given the kind of access which allows them to increase their influence.

The Soviet system is no longer simple, if it ever was. Nor is it immutable. We need to pay attention to what has changed within the system as well as to what has not changed. And we also need to understand the various obstacles to change as well as the power which is concentrated in the hands of the top party leadership collectively. The question of the relationship between new leaders and new policies and the broader question of how issues get on to the political agenda and of who participates in the policy-making process are important and topical ones. In varying degrees, the books reviewed here make a real contribution to advancement of that knowledge, but much remains to be done.

Washington and Bonn twenty years ago is strikingly similar to that of the more recent frictions, and it is to be hoped that Stent's conclusions are being digested in Washington.

Again, although she concludes that increased economic dealings between Germany and the Soviet Union are unlikely to have much direct bearing on their political relationship, a greater degree of economic interdependence would enhance the importance of détente for both sides. This is a point where more clarification would be welcome: if détente is not "political", what is?

At a time when the Western alliance is more divided than ever about the commercial, military and political dimensions of East-West relations, and when the role of the Federal Republic is under scrutiny as never before, Professor Stent's book sheds a welcome beam of light on a central aspect of the subject.

archives, all of these four variants have been attempted by Bonn or by Moscow at different times. The normal pattern has been for Bonn to seek to modify Soviet behaviour in Afghanistan; the positive use of economic inducements to achieve political goals (West German granting of trade credits in exchange for Soviet acceptance of Bonn's links with West Berlin); a politically offensive strategy aimed at changing an adversary's economic policies (Soviet pressure on West Berlin to achieve a more favourable trade treaty with Bonn); or finally, political concessions aimed at procuring a change in economic policies (the release of German nationals from the Soviet Union in exchange for trade concessions).

As the author proceeds to demonstrate in her scholarly survey of the period from the 1950s to the 1980s (based on a wide range of German and Soviet sources, and some fascinating unpublished American diplomatic

## Bolsheviks bested

J. Ciechanowski

ADAM ZAMOYSKI

*The Battle for the Marchlands*  
218pp. Columbia University Press.  
£11.65.  
0 914710 82 6

Tensions between the Russians and the Poles are nothing new; for centuries they fought with each other for mastery over Eastern Europe, the key to which was control of the Marchlands - Byelorussia and Ukraine - the area between ethnic Poland and ethnic Russia where Poles and Russians mixed with Lithuanians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians.

The Russo-Polish war of 1920 was, as Adam Zamoyski forcefully reminds us in *The Battle for the Marchlands*, a dramatic and spectacular eruption of this age-long struggle. In the years 1919-20 Pilsudski tried with "gun in hand" as he himself put it, to detach Byelorussia and Ukraine from a weakened and defeated Russia and to link them federally with resurgent Poland. Pilsudski was not concerned with the destruction of communism. Indeed, he preferred to deal with the Bolsheviks, rather than the Whites, whom he regarded as implacable enemies of Polish independence. His plans failed because the Byelorussians and Ukrainians refused to consider the Poles as liberators.

Professor Stent sets out a systematic classification of four main types of strategy which might in theory be

practised: the withholding of economic benefits in pursuit of political goals (eg, Western economic sanctions in order to modify Soviet behaviour in Afghanistan); the positive use of economic inducements to achieve political goals (West German granting of trade credits in exchange for Soviet acceptance of Bonn's links with West Berlin); a politically offensive strategy aimed at changing an adversary's economic policies (Soviet pressure on West Berlin to achieve a more favourable trade treaty with Bonn); or finally, political concessions aimed at procuring a change in economic policies (the release of German nationals from the Soviet Union in exchange for trade concessions).

Although Pilsudski won a military victory, he suffered a resounding political defeat. The territorial settlement reached in Riga in 1921 spelled the ruin of his plans to create a confederation of new states friendly to Poland in Eastern Europe. The Riga agreement, whereby the Poles and the Russians once again simply divided Byelorussia and Ukraine between themselves, was a temporary expedient rather than a lasting settlement of the problems of the Marchlands; it came to an end, of course, in September 1939.

Pilsudski's victory, however, safeguarded Poland's newly regained independence, confined Soviet

Communism to Russia and helped to preserve the Versailles system. Regrettably, Zamoyski writes very little about the impact of this war and its consequences on internal developments either in Poland or the USSR - developments which in the Soviet Union contributed to the establishment of Stalinism, and a Poland to that of the *Sanacja* or military dictatorship of Pilsudski and his followers, who regarded Russia as their main enemy and tended to underestimate the German threat.

*The Community of States: A Study in International Political Theory* (189pp. Allen and Unwin. £15.00 0 04 520151 2) edited by James Mayall is divided into three parts. Part I examines the contemporary order. Part II discusses the practical attempts of statesmen, lawyers, strategists and economists to devise a morally defensible international politics on the basis of interest. Part III challenges the conventional morality of states from five alternative standpoints: Kantian morality, a reconsideration of the contemporary relevance of natural law, an examination of the concept of responsibility in international politics and an analysis of the role of language in the development of community. The contributors, who include Cornelia Navari, Brian Porter, Bryan Paskins, Zdenek Kavani, Michael Domela, Christopher Breyer, Peter F. Butler, Moorhead Wright and Alan F. Heydel, are members of the International Political Theory Group.

## ORIENTAL ART

## Emperors' exhibits

Margaret Medley

Wan-Go WENG and YANG BODA (Editors)

*The Palace Museum, Peking: Treasures of the Forbidden City*  
319pp. with colour and black-and-white illustrations. Orbis. £30.  
0 8503 456 2

In the last few years a number of rather up-market tourist guides to China and offerings have been published. At first sight *The Palace Museum, Peking: Treasures of the Forbidden City* would appear to be another, but not so. It is a substantial volume, admirably illustrated with pictures of the Palace, the objects in the collections, and of such additional material from archaeological sites that have become famous in the last thirty years, as well as from the great Buddhist cave sites of Dunhuang, Yungang and Longmen.

The clear intention is to stimulate interest in the history of the visual arts and architecture in China by drawing on the resources of the Palace Museum, each chapter being written by a specialist on the Museum staff. One of the book's interesting features is the bibliography, not so much for what it includes but rather for what it does not include; it appears to be based on the literature actually available in the Museum Library, and there are some surprising omissions, not the least being Sir Harry Garner's standard works on *cloisonné* enamels and on lacquer. None the less the coverage appears relatively up-to-date and there is generous reference in the notes to recent Chinese periodical literature on art and technology.

After a general introduction on the arts of China by Yang Boda, the specialists in the various departments contribute chapters on interesting subjects: ceramics, bronzes, paintings and calligraphy, sculpture, jade, the minor arts and, surprisingly, gold and gems. The most valuable chapters are those on architecture and on

painting and calligraphy. The former deals with the top plan of the Forbidden City in its setting as well as with the major buildings that comprise this huge, carefully organized complex. The meticulous calculation of spaces in relation to buildings, as well as that of the buildings to each other, especially those along the main north-south axis, is carefully explained. Order and balance are maintained in the planning of the minor groupings to east and west of the main axis, and this establishes a harmony that is a notable feature in both the formal public buildings and those of the private residences. The author of this chapter also recounts the background to the planning of certain sections and the purposes for which they were built, such as the building and refurbishing by Qianlong at the end of the eighteenth century of the Ningshou-gong, "Repose and Longevity Palace", for his retirement after abdication in 1795.

Painting and calligraphy, both enormously attractive subjects, are dealt with in a long essay with admirable illustrations in both colour and black-and-white, the latter being particularly appropriate to the calligraphy, of which there are some magnificent examples of the *caoshu* or cursive script in which rhythms are interwoven in a fugal complexity. The details of the long scrolls of such masters as Huang Tingjian (1045-1105) and Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) are particularly striking, the former characterized by great strength and rhythmic control and the latter by a regular marching beat of greater formality.

The other chapters each have their special merits, though in the ceramics chapter no distinction is made between the oilspat *templewares* of north China and the ware of Jian. There are also one or two questionable datings, especially of the popular Cizhou wares. On the use of cobalt blue there is new information in the main text, but, alas, unsupported by references. Despite such details, this is a very presentable volume, if rather costly.

## Merchants' murals

Simon Digby

FRANCIS WACZIARG and AMAN NATH

*Rajasthan: The Painted Walls of Shekhavati*  
119pp. with 93 colour plates. Croom Helm. £11.95.  
0 7099 2762 2

In the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the ancient tradition of mural painting in India attained notable expression in the great palace-fortresses which Hindu Rajput rulers were then building or enlarging. The "protection" of the British was extended over these principalities in the early nineteenth century, but it was only after the "Mutiny" of 1857 that, largely through the education of minor heirs to the principalities and other social contacts with the British, the sons of these houses acquired different tastes and needs in furnishing and decoration.

In the territories of these Rajput princes were their feudatories and non-Rajput servants, hereditary ministers and accountants, who followed the decorative tastes and fashions of their lords as far as resources would permit. The more inaccessible principalities also became bases for long-distance merchant traders, for whom the ruler's protection, military levy and fortified towns in the desert provided security against depredation. In turn the merchants brought wealth to the rulers of an infertile land. The merchants were generally known as Marwaris (after the barren and distant territory of Marwar or Jodhpur); their descendants are often rich and powerful in India today. The ancestral homes of such multi-millionaires as the Bhatias and Dalmias are illustrated in this volume.

Shekhavati, a barren area to the north-east of Rajasthan, was divided among quarrelling and belligerent

cadet lines of the Kachwaha house of Jaipur/Amber. Those who succeeded in building and retaining possession of a fortified settlement in the eighteenth century offered more favourable terms to the "Marwaris" merchants than were available in Marwar at that period. Later, the Marwaris rose to the challenge of the mid-nineteenth century. The profits from opium, indigo and "servicing" princely families" declined, but many set off eastwards in pursuit of the profits in jute and cotton. Some prospered exceedingly.

A consequence of this was that at the close of the century in these remote townships some of the Marwaris families of Shekhavati maintained households of greater splendour than ever before. Their taste in ornament and decoration was conservative, uninfluenced by the anglicizing ideal which had affected the Rajput princes and nobility. In the murals of their houses we have a vigorous continuation of the earlier mixed Rajput/Mughal decorative tradition, with images presented in the emphatic distortion of a folk rendering. Motifs from British India are often incorporated (as European motifs were in the earlier tradition), as images of exotic high-life. One of the best of the murals is of an English lady, in a pale blue "classical" gown with shaded folds, standing beside a gramophone with a convoluted trumpet of similar hue; it suggests something one might see in a dream after looking at Pompeian frescoes.

The past decade has seen a shift in taste and attitudes, and the aesthetics of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century are no longer subject to dismissal, ridicule and condemnation. The colour-plates of this volume will contribute to the rehabilitation of this art, but in general it maintains a high standard of historical exposition and is accompanied by excellent illustrative material.



Visit these publishers and many more at the

## LONDON BOOK FAIR

Barbican Arts Centre - 6/7/8 April

## Orbis Publishing Celebrates Its Best Year Ever

Visit us on STAND 478/9

## THE LOST CODEX OF SINAI James Bentley

Questions the most fundamental tenets of Christianity with the evidence of manuscript pages found in an isolated monastery.

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Antony Beevor

A major study of this tragic drama coincides with a new television series.

## GERICAULT Dr Lorenz Eitner

The first comprehensive study since 1879, the result of 30 years research. This is the definitive monograph with over 270 illustrations.

## CHILDREN'S WORLD OF SCIENCE

The only encyclopedia of science and science-related subjects specially designed for children 8-11 years of age in 24 thematic volumes, each of 64 pages. Volumes 1-4 are available for examination.

## THE BIBLE AND ITS PAINTERS Bruce Bernard

With a foreword by Sir Lawrence Gowing  
An entirely new survey of the most vital illustrations and greatest imagery inspired by the Bible from painters of all schools from Giotto to the end of the nineteenth century.

New in Paperback  
WHAT'S WHAT IN THE 1980s

Edited by Christopher Pick  
This is one of the most fascinating books we have read in years.  
World Affairs Report £8.50

See our full range of reference and academic books on stand 948 at the London Book Fair.

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS  
18 Bedford Square  
London WC1B 3JN

## HOME DESIGN AND DECORATING Mary Gilliat

Three fresh new volumes provide practical means to smart and stylish interior decorating.

## FRENCH 17TH CENTURY PAINTING Christopher Wright

The first full examination in English of the period of Le Tour, Poussin and the Le Nain brothers.

## BIOTECHNOLOGY Steve Prentice

How science harnesses the energies of micro-organisms.

## THE NEW COMPLEAT ANGLER Stephen Downes

Beautifully illustrated, this is a worthy companion to its famous predecessor.

## CARICATURES OF THE THIRD REICH Zbyněk Zeman

In this work this distinguished historian of the Nazi period and student of propaganda examines the images of the Nazis as presented in the world press from 1933-1945.

## ECHOES OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

Great ancient civilizations of the world, each illustrated by Werner Forman, with expert texts. Latest volumes in this 25-volume series include Byzantium, Ball and The Romans.

## THE MAD MOSAIC Gael Elton Mayo

'I have never read an autobiography like this one. I was hooked after the first half-dozen pages.'

Elizabeth Longford, *Books and Bookmen*

'Compulsively readable, and often deeply moving'

Spectator

Price: £9.95 Hardback illustrated Available from all good bookshops

Quarrel Books Limited, A Member of the Hamlyn Group  
2729 Goudge Street, London W1P 1FD Tel: 01-638 9992

## ARENA BOOKS LTD

One of Britain's youngest remainder houses holding a comprehensive list of over 250 titles. Offering a complete merchandising service

Visit us on Stand 341

or contact us at

Roe Lee Mill, Whalley  
New Rd, Blackburn,  
Lancashire

or Telephone (0254) 679821

## THE EUROPA YEAR BOOK 1983

A World Survey

This invaluable reference work is a source of reliable political, historical, economic, statistical and bibliographical information which no serious reference library may be without.  
International Affairs  
Two Volumes £90.00 (U.K.) the set

New in Paperback

WHAT'S WHAT IN THE 1980s

Edited by Christopher Pick

This is one of the most fascinating books we have read in years.

World Affairs Report £8.50

See our full range of reference and academic books on stand 948 at the London Book Fair.

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS  
18 Bedford Square  
London WC1B 3JN

EUROPA PUBLICATIONS

18 Bedford Square

London WC1B 3JN

## COLLET'S

Invite you to come and see our

Display of Books from

the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe

at this year's

LONDON BOOKFAIR

Titles in English and the

national languages from

the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia.

See you on

Stand 694

Come and visit

THE TIMES

SUPPLEMENTS

at their Stand,

No. 481

at the

London Book Fair

05150







